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LETTERS TO HENRY FOX LORD HOLLAND

WITH A FEW ADDRESSED TO HIS BROTHER
STEPHEN, EARL OF ILCHESTER

EDITED BY
THE EARL OF ILCHESTER



LONDON
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The Roxburghe Club
MDCCCXV

Dedicated and Presented
TO
THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS
OF

The Roxburghe Club

BY THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT

ILCHESTER

HOLLAND HOUSE

March 1915



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THE EARL OF ROSEBERRY, K.G., K.T.

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INTRODUCTION



THE earliest portion of the family papers and manuscripts preserved at Holland House is the correspondence of Henry Fox, 1st Lord Holland, extending over a period of some thirty years in the middle of the eighteenth century. A few of these letters were made use of by Princess Liechtenstein, and are published in her book on the House. The remainder have continued in the obscurity of the volumes in which they were arranged by Fox's grandson. The series is a long one. Fox was a voluminous letter-writer, and the circle of his friends included the worldliest and wittiest of that clique of the Whig party who founded themselves upon the memory and traditions of Sir Robert Walpole. The treachery of certain of his closest associates, and his political *volte face* in later life, curtailed, it is true, the number of the elect. But new connections arose, and a host of new correspondents. Indeed, he encouraged the younger generation, by a wonderful bond of sympathy, to treat him as a friend and brother, rather than as the contemporary of their fathers. His social intimates, too, never failed, whilst life remained, to keep him primed with the latest news, when struggling to maintain in his later years a feeble modicum of health in the warmer climes of Southern Europe.

And so my task has been an easy one. It has been no difficult matter to cull from among the pages of the past a selection illustrative of those times. Yet a series of letters, selected from a period of thirty years, must necessarily appear disjointed, especially as these

will be found to come under two distinct heads, political and social. In the former class I feel that I may perhaps have been too lavish in my choice. If so, I crave the indulgence of my fellow members. Certain letters may seem objectless and devoid of particular importance. But read in conjunction with previously printed material, they will be found to fit naturally into the *lacunae*; and for this reason I have decided to insert them in this volume, among those of more general interest.

The Holland House letters have been supplemented with a few which have recently come to light at Melbury. Some of them are clearly part of Fox's papers, and should have returned to the collection. The remainder, addressed to his elder brother, Stephen Fox, Lord Ilchester, appear to me worthy to be added to the sequence.

The two brothers were sons of Sir Stephen Fox, by his second marriage with Miss Christian Hope. Stephen was born in 1704, Henry a year later. The numerous offspring of an earlier marriage failed to survive their father. Sir Stephen, though the offspring of humble parentage, grew to be the trusted friend and adherent of Charles II. Both before and after the Restoration he held responsible posts about the person of that monarch, and his services remained indispensable in successive reigns. His request to Queen Anne to be allowed to retire into private life was granted; but he outlived her, and died in 1715 at a ripe old age.

Two years before that date the boys went together to Eton, and there laid the foundations of a lifelong devotion, which might well be put forward as a pattern for all fraternal relationships. The story so often quoted of an intimacy between Fox and Pitt at the school cannot reasonably be sustained. The difference in age was too great, Pitt being four years the junior. In 1720 both brothers migrated to Christ Church, Oxford, and three years later came their first separation. Stephen went abroad for two years, Henry remained

at home. We know little of the latter's mode of life at this time. According to the repeated statements of his detractors, he was wasting his patrimony in gambling and riotous living, but there is an utter lack of contemporary evidence to justify such a scathing indictment. His path, it is true, lay in the lighter stratum of society. Such *bon viveurs* as Hanbury-Williams, Winnington, and Lord Hervey were among his boon companions, and by their efforts he was translated into the *entourage* of Sir Robert Walpole, the innermost shrine of Whiggism.

From the very first the glamour of politics had cast its thrall over Henry. He enjoyed to the full, it is true, his annual visits to his brother in Somerset and Wilts, and had tasted the delights of a life of idleness on the sunny shores of the Mediterranean. But he looked to a permanent future amid the excitements of public life, and his new surroundings caused him inevitably to side with the opponents of the traditional proclivities of his father. In 1735 the brothers entered the House of Commons as supporters of the Whig party. Henry was abroad at the time, and only took his seat in January 1736. Both distinguished themselves during the next few sessions; but Stephen's heart was not in his work. He had married, in 1736, Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas Horner and Susanna Strangways, the heiress of the Strangways properties. He longed for the country and its more peaceful recreations and enjoyments. We hear little of him upon the political stage after 1741, in which year Hervey obtained for him a peerage, from their mutual patron.

Through the same influence Henry became Surveyor of Works in June 1737. He had had secret opportunity of proving to Walpole his abilities, and, once recognized, he had no difficulty in pushing his way speedily to the front. After the fall of his leader, he attached himself to Henry Pelham, on whom Walpole's mantle had fallen. During his new chief's lifetime he had no reason to complain of the prizes which fell to his lot. In 1743 he exchanged

his Surveyorship for a junior seat at the Treasury Board, and in 1746 succeeded Sir William Yonge as Secretary at War.

The intervening years had been fraught with consequence to his domestic happiness. He had wooed and won; but the course of his courtship was thorny and intricate. The object of his affections, a passion which ceased only with life itself, was Lady Caroline Lennox, eldest daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond. Her parents forbade the match, but the young people were not to be turned from their purpose. They took matters into their own hands, and were secretly married at Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams' house in Privy Gardens on May 3, 1744. The elopement caused a great stir in society, and it was not till four years later, when Fox had become a figure in politics, that the Richmonds forgave their erring daughter.

Up to the time of his marriage Fox had lived in Scotland Yard, where the Office of Works was then situated. But, in 1746, being in search of a permanent residence near London, he took Holland House on lease from Mr. Edwardes, and subsequently purchased the property in 1767.

Fox's post was now in effect the secretaryship to the Commander-in-chief, William, Duke of Cumberland, the King's second son. This business relationship was soon to be replaced by a friendship of a far more intimate nature. Fox came to be looked on as the Duke's spokesman in the House of Commons, and subsequently as the leader of his band of followers. The connection might have opened up new vistas, for Cumberland was the King's favourite son. Yet Fox was true to his former allegiance, and sided with Pelham against the warlike schemes of the Duke of Newcastle and of King George himself. Pelham and his brother were at variance on many of the questions of the day, and this rift in the Whig party might have led to serious consequences, had not the Prince of Wales died suddenly in 1751. Frederick, true to the traditions of Hanoverian eldest sons,

had leagued himself with the Tories in opposition to his father. But death put an end to the hopes of those who looked to the favours of a new reign ; and for some years an organized opposition in Parliament was non-existent.

An important feature which we must not overlook during this period was the growing rivalry between Pitt and Fox. The ex-Cornet of Horse had pointedly opposed the King's measures in Parliament, and had on more than one occasion striven to discredit his motives in intemperate language. Repentance came too late. The King was loath to overlook Pitt's early insolence, and could with difficulty be persuaded, in order to muzzle his damaging eloquence, to accept him as minister, even in minor office. Though members of the same administration, Fox and Pitt were seldom in unison. But after Pelham's death in 1754 a temporary *rapprochement* took place between them. Newcastle, whom the King had summoned to form a Government, passed over Pitt, and alienated Fox by offering him a Secretaryship with plenary powers, which he, on second thoughts, withdrew. Together the rivals vented their spleen upon the devoted head of Sir Thomas Robinson, the figurehead whom his Grace had set up to lead the House of Commons.

But the truce was of short duration. Fox thought fit to accept a seat in the Cabinet in December 1754, and in the following April automatically became a member of the Regency, appointed to act during the King's annual absence abroad. Pitt felt slighted and deserted. He broke openly with his recent ally and turned to Leicester House, where the Princess of Wales, filled with distrust of her brother-in-law Cumberland, was contemplating renewed opposition to the King's measures. In that circle, Fox, the Duke's right-hand man, was anathema. Unwilling, apparently, again to let slip the power which seemed within his grasp, he took the post of Secretary of State for the Southern Department in the autumn, and agreed to support the King's foreign treaties. Pitt and his friends

were dismissed. But Newcastle's government was tottering to a fall, and a year later, Fox, finding his position in regard to his Grace untenable, resigned. It was then that his adversary showed his teeth. Pitt totally refused to co-operate with his former confederate, and after long years of waiting, was at last admitted to high office under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Devonshire. Fox and Newcastle were left out in the cold.

The events of the spring of 1757 occasioned a further change of ministry. A permanent administration was impossible without the co-operation of Newcastle. His parliamentary influence was supreme. Agreement between him and Pitt on a broad basis produced the strongest combination which had held power for years past. It assured a successful termination of the war, upon which Great Britain was engaged with France and her continental allies. Fox had his chance of forming a government, but failed to obtain material support. His unpopularity, born of connection with Cumberland and of his complete disregard of public opinion, was slowly but surely on the increase. His acceptance of a lucrative post, the Pay Office, without a seat in the Cabinet, could but add to the distrust which had taken deep root in the minds of the nation.

During the next five years Fox has left little mark on the political world. He seems to have recognized Pitt's superiority, and to have made no serious effort to cope with him while in the zenith of his power. Oblivious of the successes which were being achieved in all four quarters of the globe, he was content to sacrifice his ambitions and turn to the less laudable task of amassing fortunes. In the peaceful seclusion of his fireside, surrounded by his adoring family and by a host of devoted friends, we may be sure that he enjoyed to the full that leisure which he so often coveted amid the turmoil and the cares of office. The wisdom of his method of educating his two elder sons has often been questioned. In one instance, at least, he must himself have realized his failure. Their gambling debts were

sufficient to swallow up a large proportion of that fortune, which, after the manner of previous generations, he was piling up in the Paymaster's office.

In 1762 he re-emerged from retreat. A new King was on the throne. Pitt and Newcastle had been hunted from the Ministry; and a new Minister, Lord Bute, reigned in their stead. Fox's expectations of exalting his niece, Lady Sarah Lennox, to the rank of Queen of England had failed; and his longing for a peerage was every year growing more acute. He was not unwilling, therefore, to listen to Bute's proposal that he should join the Government in forcing the preliminaries of peace with France through the House of Commons. Fox himself looked upon the measure as essential to the welfare of the country, and this view was shared by Bedford and his section of the Whig party. He therefore accepted the post of Leader of the House of Commons and a seat in the Cabinet, although he refused for reasons of health to become Secretary of State. His efforts to undermine the loyalty of Newcastle's followers by a system of wholesale bribery proved eminently successful. The Peace passed triumphantly, but in the moment of victory he overreached himself, by descending to a wholesale proscription of his opponents. It is difficult to find an adequate excuse for this malignancy, which alienated Cumberland, with a host of his former friends, and destroyed his last remaining shreds of popularity with the public. Lady Caroline had been made a Baroness in May 1762, and when, in the spring of 1763, Bute signified his intention of resigning his post, Fox refused to succeed him as first Lord of the Treasury. His health was unequal to support the strain, and he preferred to seek refuge in the Upper House as Lord Holland, of Foxley, in Wiltshire. The Paymastership he retained for another two years, notwithstanding the protests of Lord Shelburne, who had conducted the negotiations in 1762, and who maintained that he had promised to surrender that office.

With his acceptance of the peerage Holland's political career

may be said to have terminated. His later years were clouded with bitter thoughts of the perfidy of two of his best friends, Rigby and Calcraft, who, together with Shelburne, deserted him for Pitt. His health was failing fast, and much of his time was spent at Kingsgate, a villa which he had planned and built for himself on the coast of the Isle of Thanet. Although he bore with equanimity his removal from the Pay Office in 1765, a step insisted upon by the Grenville Ministry, he never ceased to covet an Earldom. His wish was not destined to be accomplished.

As time went on he spent more and more of his time abroad, and when finally overtaken by death "quite worn out in mind and body" in July 1774, his widow survived him by only twenty-three days. His eldest son Stephen died at the close of the same year, leaving an infant son, Henry Richard, afterwards third Lord Holland.

In editing the letters, I have inserted notes only where they have seemed absolutely necessary to explain the motive of the substance, or to elucidate some specially obscure passage. The text remains exactly as in the originals, with the exception of the punctuation, which has been altered throughout, in order to render the sense more easily comprehensible. Accents, which are almost entirely omitted from French words, have also been added.

ILCHESTER.

LETTERS TO HENRY FOX, LORD HOLLAND.

MR. HENRY PELHAM TO MR. FOX.

Bishopstone, in Sussex,
August 5, 1743.

DEAR S^r.

I should have troubled you with a letter before this time, had any thing come to my knowledge worthy of your notice. We have had several Messengers from abroad since I saw you, and this day arrived Parker himself, the very man that carried our letters, but not a word from Lord Carteret upon the great question, and very little material in relation to other affairs. Our army is to cross the Rhine below Mayence, but what they are to do when they are on the other side is to us a secret.¹ Lord Carteret in one letter mentions Lord Wilmington's death,² expresses the King's concern at it, and says that concern is the greater at it's happening at such a critical time. He has not done me the honour to acknowledge the receipt of any of my private letters. We learn, indeed, from other hands, that he declares himself engaged to Lord Bath. Rushout's man is not yet return'd. I suppose he is kept till some assurances are got from hence as to future conduct and behaviour: but that may be speculation only. What is the meaning of this behaviour in Lord C.? I am at a loss to explain. All I know is that man is a madman that has any confidence in him, and I own freely to you nothing shall ever persuade me to trust him out of my sight again. I know nothing of Lord Bath; he did not return from the North till my Brother and I were set out for Sussex. I conclude some explanatory letters are come to them; for sure so great a Genius

¹ The impenetrable silence maintained by Carteret, who was in attendance on George II, with the army in Germany, became a source of serious complaint from the other Ministers at home.

² Sir Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, the nominal Prime Minister, died in July. The question now arose whether Lord Bath or Pelham was to succeed him.

as His Lordship's would not trust his whole to General [illegible], &c. I shall be in town on Sunday, and perhaps by that time the scene may be open'd. I am weary of these uncertaintys, and should be glad to know what we have to depend upon.

I am extremely concern'd that any recommendation of mine should happen to interfere with what you or Mr. Digby have desired, and more especially when I think you are so very much in the right. I call it my recommendation, because I spoke to the King above a year agoe for the living of Sherborn to be given to a friend of Mrs. Drax's, who had earnestly solicited it of Lady Katherine,¹ her old acquaintance. This is the truth and the whole truth. My Brother had nothing to do with it, but officially. I knew nothing that the Digby family were concern'd there. Whether any presentation will come from the King or not, I can't tell, but Lord Chancellor will probably not put the Great Seal to it. So that I hope there will be time enough to adjust this matter to your satisfaction, in which my Brother, I know, will do all that is in his power, and I shall try to accomodate my promise to your wishes, as far as in honour I can. There are little disagreeablenesses, but if other things went right, I should hope might be adjusted. But how to deal wth the profligate ambition of a certain person abroad is, I own, above me. When you write the Duke of Marlborough, I beg you would assure him of my most perfect regard for his Grace in all particulars. I never doubted of his good wishes for me. Dear Fox, your warmth of heart for your friends I have ever seen and valued in you; it was that made me wish to be rank'd amongst 'em, and if on some occasions I may have been suppos'd to have shewn a little more Phlegm or patience than some people approv'd of, I can assure you it did not proceed from an insensibility of who were and who were not my true friends. I direct this to your house in town, not knowing for a certainty where you are. Pray let me hear from you again, and if your stay in the country is not to be very long, I should be glad to know when you design to be in town. But I would by no means wish you to leave the country sooner than your present intentions are.

I am, Dear Fox, most affectionately and
truly y^{rs},

H. PELHAM.

Burn this.

¹ Henry Pelham's wife, daughter of John, second Duke of Rutland.

MR. HENRY PELHAM TO MR. FOX.

Arlington Street. Sep^r 27, 1743.

DEAR FOX.

I have not troubled you with any thing since you left London. The events that have happen'd have none of 'em been very interesting, and the prospect of what is to come does not appear to me in so flattering a shape, as to make me delight in troubling my friends more than is absolutely necessary. However I don't like that too long an interval should pass without our communicating our thoughts to each other, tho' in an uncertain, vague, and imperfect manner. In short, I see storms gathering, and an inclination to irritate passions from many quarters. The laborious, inconsistent pamphlet call'd *Faction detected*¹ bids defiance to the Torys, and att the same time provokes the resentment of two-thirds of the Whigs. This unaccountable behaviour, perhaps you will say, is easily to be accounted for. But the letter to my late Antagonist upon his disappointment is not to me so easily decypherd. If it comes from a freind of ours, why does he choose to represent *him*, tho' with a sneer, the *saviour* of a particular person. If from an enemy, does not he give a handle of a reproach to those who perhaps may be necessitated to carry things further than they wish? These are splenatick reflections, which you, who perhaps know more of the matter than I do, may be able to reconcile with what we wish; I must own I have my doubts. We hear nothing certain from abroad of when the King leaves the Army; it is talkd as if he would stay no longer than the fourth or fifth of October. O.S. Then why does he, att the end of September, make a march of a week further from home? I cant but think some great thing is in view, att least something that shall make an éclat. It is like my friend Carteret, and if it succeeds, he will take care, as far as his voice goes, to drown'd all former complaints by one good stroke att the close. I am sorry to tell you that the Duke of Marlborough had an ugly accident the day before the march from Worms. In lepping his horse over a ditch he strain'd his back, so that he was not able to stirr, and, as I am told, is left behind at Worms. If true, probably you will have heard of it, before this time. I have, by this post, wrote to Mr. Williams² to thank him for the most agreeable piece of flattery I ever receiv'd. I am sure you know me so well, that I need not apprehend it's going further than amongst ourselves. I must

¹ A pamphlet written by Lord Egmont.

² Mr. Charles Hanbury-Williams.

Pelham to Fox

trouble you with my most humble respects to Lord Ilchester,¹ and hope you believe me with great truth and affection,

Dear Fox,

Your most faithfull friend

and servant,

H. PELHAM.

MR. HENRY PELHAM TO MR. FOX.

Greenwich. July y^e 22^d, 1745.

DEAR S^r.

I am just going to London from this place, where I have been these two days, but as I am more att leisure here than in town, I take this opportunity of thanking you for your kind letter of the 15th from Cheltenham. If the high ground you seem to think I stand upon, gives me any better view into the situation of our affairs abroad than your retired residence does you, it is only to give me still a more gloomy prospect. By letters just arrived from our army, we learn that Oudenard has surrenderd and the garrison made prisoners of war, after a defence of two days only.² The next places will probably be Dendermonde, Ath, and perhaps Brussels or Antwerp, or both. I dont hear they think of besieging Ostend as yet, probably the great inundation may have stopt 'em for the present. But as they are sending all their sailors, even boys, from Dunkirk and those parts to Brest, they are assuredly fitting out a great fleet there, and where that fleet will be destind, will in my opinion depend on the strength and command of ours att home. By the by, I learn from the Admiralty that your friend Lestock has playd the fool, or the knave, or both.³ The poor Duke⁴ is left with an handfull of men behind the Canal of Brussels; in short he has not 35,000 in the whole with him. The French King has above 90,000 in his own camp, besides a detach'd party under Count Clerment of above 8,000, and innumerable small detachments over the whole country. I wont say any thing of our High Allies. There is

¹ Stephen Fox, Henry Fox's eldest brother, was created Lord Ilchester in 1741.

² The campaign in Flanders, of which Fontenoy was the key, was disastrous to the Allies. Outnumbered by the French, they lost fortress after fortress, and were everywhere unable to offer a successful resistance to Marshal Saxe.

³ A naval battle of Toulon in February is to be remembered for the feud between the two British admirals Lestock and Matthews, which led to the escape of the enemy. Both were court-martialled: the former was acquitted, the latter dismissed the service.

⁴ Cumberland.

enough said of them in every corner of the streets, and I conclude I shall hear enough of 'em and of my assurances the next winter. However I have my vouchers, and I will say that for my Correspondent, he does not in the least decline taking upon himself what properly belongs to him, nor do I find his old friends are unwilling to throw it there. I think he will have as bad quarter from his own people, I mean in the House of Commons, as any of us. But what does this signify, if we should happen to be a Province to France before the time of enquiry comes. Even your friend Winnington begins to think our affairs in a bad way. In short, Dear Fox, if we are to pursue with an inferior Force great Ideas in distant countrys, and if those Allys we have are rather Clogs and burdens than any additional strength, how can we expect to succeed? We are short of our numbers in all places, and we would not believe that the enemy had half the strength that appears now; and we cannot ourselves do more than what we have already done, for I think we have not left Troops enough in this country to mount guard att the Royal Palaces, nor to quell an insurrection or smugling party of one hundred men. In this case what have we to do? I will say no more, than only not what we have been doing for these three years last past.

Believe me, Dear Fox, ever most

sincerely and affectionately

y^{rs}, H. PELHAM.

P.S. I hope Cheltenham agrees with Lady Caroline, to whom my compliments.

MR. ASHE LEE¹ TO MR. FOX.²

Edinburgh. Jan^{ry} 21st, 1746.

D^r SIR.

I marched in very late on Saturday night, and was employed in providing proper quarters for the men till the post went out, or you should have had the earliest account of the action on Friday evening.³ I shall, if ever I have the honour to wait on you, give you a more full account; at present I will avoid all manner of reflection, and confine myself to facts that I was eye witness to.

On Friday, the 17th instant, at 10 o'clock in the morning, an alarm came that the enemy were in motion; we stood to our arms, near two hours,

¹ Captain-lieutenant in Wolf's regiment.

² Melbury MSS.

³ Battle of Falkirk.

during which time, thro' a Telescope, I could plainly discern them very active, both on horseback and foot, and directing their march towards us, as I informed all the officers about me. On a sudden we were dismissed, and secured our arms in the bell-tents. About two, a second alarm came that they were in full march to us, & not 2 miles distant. With the utmost expedition and some hurry, we got ready, & the whole army marched a small mile to the enemy, who were in our view the whole way. They were drawn up on a hill, to much seeming advantage, in a very compact body. We were wet to the skin before we came to our ground, and had continual heavy rain in our faces, both before and during the action, with a very high wind. They approached our left flank, where our 3 Regiments of Dragoons attack'd them sword in hand, before our Second Line had quite formed compleatly on the right.

Our Right was drawn up in a hollow, and consequently were strangers to what pass'd on the Left, where the Dragoons sustained a close & very regular fire from the rebels' best troops (Drummond's Irish brigade, and the Lochabar men, as we judgd by their axes). The Dragoons, notwithstanding with some loss, rode thro them & put them into the utmost confusion, while some of their horses, wounded or young and unruly, ran back upon Wolf's regiment & Cholmondeley's, & in some measure broke them; & others made down the hill, in spite of their riders, and appeared to the right wing as routed. Wolf's & some Regiments on the right gave their fire to such of the rebels as appeared, but looking behind them observed the second Line moving to a greater distance from them; not knowing how to interpret this, they gave way too, fell in upon the second Line, & never was confusion worse confounded. But the enemy were so broke that they could take no advantage of this, & the front Line immediately rallied in the rear of some regiments that stood their ground, & with much firmness seem'd determined to oppose any body of the rebels that were forming on the hill. The second battalion of the Royal Scotch gave way first on the Right, & fell in upon our Regiment, who were drawn up on the right of Barrel's, into whose reg^t Ligonier's foot fell from the front line & soon form'd with them. I commanded the left Platoon of our Grenadiers, with some part of whom & about 4 or 5 Platoons of our battalion I had the happiness to join Barrel's, who made that stand, while the remaining part of our regiment with the old Buffs form'd in the rear of our little body at some distance, & were marching to sustain us. I had the happiness to see my friend Thomas come to me, & 4 or 5 more of my brother officers & our colours. Gen^l Husk & Brig^r Cholmondely con-

tinued for the most part with us, & we marched up the hill with repeated Huzzas, to challenge the enemy; but they would not stay for us, they dispersed, and their main body (as I could learn) did not rally for near two miles, & till they were certified we were marching toward Lithgow. When I saw an unaccountable confusion without any manner of occasion, & very little loss sustained, I was struck with Cato's reflection, *O Liberty! O my Country!* I thank God, I had then no regard for Life, but resolv'd to sacrifice it as Dearly as I could with those Regiments of Barrel's & Ligonier's & some few of our's who made that stand, which was generally reckoned to preserve the whole. Here Gen^l Husk & Cholmondely saw me act in my little sphere, to the utmost of my power; nor do I urge this as the least merit, for it was my duty to my King, my country, & to you. The Officers in General are greatly applauded for using their utmost efforts, on this occasion; too many have suffered in their attempt. 5 Captains were kill'd in Wolf's, 3 in Blakeney's, as many in Monroe's, and some others; beside Subalterns, a considerable number. Sr Robert Monroe was kill'd, Col. Whitney, Col. Bigard, & Col. Powel; & some others are missing, among whom is Major Lockart.

We marched in good order to our camp, & we who were not broke, brought up the rear. It was then quite dark, & we stood there under arms in a most violent heavy rain about an hour, when we receiv'd orders to march 6 miles to Lithgow. Our Baût men had ran away with our horses, so that to our misfortune we were compell'd to leave our Tents standing, and almost all we had in them. I remember the burden of a song on the battle of Sheriffmuir ran thus:

And we ran & they ran, & they ran & we ran,
& we ran & they ran awaw man.

From what I have related, you must imagine this battle of Falkirk, a second part of the same tune.

Some say the Rebels had a design on Edinburgh, which occasioned us to move that way; but it is very certain, our ammunition both for cannon & small arms were left on the field of battle, with 7 pieces of cannon, which were not brought up time enough to fire one shot; but some were overset in the ways very unfit for carriages, & the Carters cut the traces and took away the horses, which prevented our bringing them off. The conductor of the train, one Cunningham, was confined, & to answer for his conduct yesterday at a general Court Martial, which he prevented yesterday by cutting his arm across, but the artery is tyed up, & he probably may be reserved for a more

igominious death. I can't say indeed whether he deserves it or not; but of this I am confident, had the Cannon been planted time enough, they had been very instrumental in tearing Rebellion up by the root; & tho' the day was so far advanced (for it was 42 minutes past 3 when the first fire began), we had made that wet, uncomfortable evening a very agreeable one to the nation. I promised to make no remarks, but I will venture to conclude this tedious narrative with one which occur'd to me in the field, at the instant the thing happen'd. When the fire began on the Left flank, our Generals observed that our Second Line was rather too close to the front Line, & might incommode them with their fire; for which reason, the 2^d Line was order'd to go to the right about to enlarge this space. The whole Line, except some few (who heard the reasons assigned for this movement), were ignorant of the cause, & imagined they were to be attack'd immediately in the rear; while at the same critical moment, the front Line, perceiving the second in motion & fearing they should not be sustained, intermingled with them, & created that general confusion that with so much difficulty we extricated ourselves from. I happened to be within hearing of one of our commanders, when he assign'd the cause, but the 2 lines could not hear it, & at such a juncture are apt to interpret any motion of that nature to their disadvantage; as it is our common method to go to the Right about, whenever we beat a Retreat.

Have I not trespass'd on your patience, Sir, by this tedious Letter? wrote in as little order, as the battle was fought; for I protest the constant hurry we are in, in preparing for revenge, gives me as little time to digest my story as Cunningham had to plant his cannon. I beg my humblest respects to Lord and Lady Ilchester & Lady Caroline. Believe me, Sir, I shall endeavour to prove myself in Life or Death,—y^r faithfull Soldier & Ser^t,

T. ASHE LEE.

The main body of the rebels are besieging Stirling Castle.

MR. ASHE LEE TO MR. FOX.¹

Aberdeen. March 17th, 1746.

DEAR SIR.

Inverness, surrendered with scarce an appearance of resistance, must have surprised you, if Grant, a Scotch Major, had not commanded there. Fort Augustus must surprise you more, which was delivered up before we knew it

¹ Melbury MSS.

was invested. The Rebels had but two nine pounders there, & lost but 4 men; other particulars are not come to our hands. In the place were 16 pieces of Cannon, much provision & ammunition, too seasonable a supply for them whom hunger already began to stare in the face.

In the Gallic war, when the Swiss, elate with a series of successes, talk'd to Caesar in a higher strain than ordinary, he replies:—"Consuesse enim Deos Immortales quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiore interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere."

The event declared the truth of this prediction, & I hope it will be verified in our case, & that they are only planting more Laurels for the brows of our young Hero. I fancied some circumstances of this Campaign might meet some parallels in Caesar, so while I lay upon my straw at a lonesome outguard, I made him my constant companion. I could match his Alps with the hills that never yet knew absence of snow, which sometimes environ us. The most savage of the Gauls shall be outdone by the gentlest rebel of these Highlanders, & it surprised me to find the confusion at Falkirk printed there in very elegant Latin, for I imagined it was unparalleled in History. But in all his commentaries, I can't meet a character equally unworthy with Lord Biron's, who, 2 days ago, upon our approaching the probability of some little danger, falsely pretending to his Lieu^t Colonel that he had the Duke's leave, basely deserted his command in the Duke of Kingston's horse, & is march'd off; but his Royal Highness has sent to stop him, & may he meet his deserved infamy. This has been a month of much snow in these parts, which renders a long march at present impracticable, but we are using the utmost diligence in providing stores for our Magazines.

Four Regiments of foot, one of dragoons, & Kingston's horse, with 600 Highlanders, advanced 2 days ago to Old Meldrum, under General Bland, within 14 miles of Strathbogie, where 1400 rebels have advanced on their side; & last night the Duke expected there might be an engagement, if they woud stand their ground. But as yet we have had no account. This morning at 5 o'clock, four regiments more took the route of Inveroury & Meldrum, in order to sustain the former, if the rebels shoud increase their numbers. The post is just going out, & I have just time to subscribe myself with the greatest sincerity, y^r Obed^t & Hum. Ser^t,

THO^s ASHE LEE.

*Ashe Lee to Fox*MR. ASHE LEE TO MR. FOX.¹Inverness. April 22^d, 1746.

DEAR SIR.

Two or three hours after the battle,² I gave you in a few lines as many particulars as the time would let me collect, but as their safe arrival was precarious, I proposed being fuller the next day, when at 3 in the morn, I was detach'd with 900 men, under Brig^r Mordaunt, &c. to the Highlands to destroy the Frazers' country, which we effected, plundered and burnt Lord Lovat's house and those on his estate. Their magazines of corn, meal, &c. are brought hither for the use of our army, a party of 500 rebels abandoning all at our approach. We made a few prisoners.

I take the first opportunity, at my return, to inform you of what occurred, either to my observation or that of others on which I can depend. Some few of their Clans which had not joind them, occasiond that infatuation among them, which sufferd us to pass the Spey and Findawn without opposition, where thousands must have fallen. On the 14th, after 7 days continual march and incamping, his R.H. gave us a halt at Nairn. The body who reconnoitred us at Spey made a regular retreat under Lord John Drummond, and joind their main body near Inverness, where almost all their people had arrived, and it was determind to attack our camp near Nairn in the night on the 15th; and accordingly their whole body moved towards us for that purpose. The night was foggy, the ways bad, a column of their foot had straggled, and these accidents retarded 'em so, that the day began to dawn when they were 2 miles distant from our camp. They concluded to retreat to the most advantageous ground 3 miles from Inverness, on the moor of Culloden, with a morass in their front. On the night before the action, his R.H., with the utmost precaution, had sent for all the commanding officers of Regiments and given them proper instructions, requiring them to send for the several officers of their respective corps, and in the secretest manner warn them of an approaching action and remind them of their duty. At the same time, he settled the disposition of our march and the order of battle, in a manner most justly admird, and worthy the experience of the oldest and ablest Generals. For instance, when we twice descried the enemy, our whole army was formd from a long march in order of battle in as little

¹ Melbury MSS.² Culloden, on April 16.

time and less confusion than I have sometimes seen a single Regiment dress'd for a review. And now the matter grew more serious, when we were drawn up a third time, as their cannon inform'd us from the other side of the morass. I must not forget to acquaint you that from the beginning of our march to this moment, we had violent wind and continual storm of hail and rain; differing from the weather at Falkirk in this only, that it was in our backs by a particular blessing; and during the action, it ceased, and for some time after. Our Cannon soon answered them, and after half an hour's sport of this kind, they moved to us with their usual rapidity, thro' the fire of our grapeshot, which might have check'd a more regular enemy. They attack'd with fury and despair; we defended with English resolution. They march'd thro' showers of our hail, and ran on with broad swords and pistols; our Rear ranks ply'd them with perpetual fire, and our front receiv'd them with fix'd bayonets. Barrel's reg^t were outflank'd and maintain'd an unequal fight; when overpower'd by numbers they gave a little way, tho' not a man turn'd his back. They were on the left of the front line, as Wolfe's were of the second but extended farther than Barrel's and considerably outflank'd the enemy. They were instantly order'd to sustain them, and march'd up briskly with loud Huzza's, which Barrel's observing stood firm till they were join'd, and then Wolfe's pour'd in a continual fire of 4 or 5 Rounds a man, their left wheeling in upon the rebels' flank. Their front had no fire to return, and were soon convinc'd that their boasted broadswords were of no significance to well fix'd bayonets in determin'd hands; and their Rear, who continued firing smartly, either did execution on themselves (for they were, I believe, 20 deep), or fired over us: so that their best men being slain, the defeat became general, and our victory compleat. Our light horse and dragoons were speedily sent after them, and strew'd the road for 5 miles with dead bodies. Our most moderate computation make their slain exceed 1600, and our prisoners above 1,000; we have taken in the field and town 18 pieces of cannon and some swivels, and 3,000 firelocks, bayonets, &c. The French, both horse and foot, have surrender'd themselves and their pretended Ambassadors. We have released about 270 of our prisoners in Inverness; and on the day of battle the Sutherlands and McCoys took Lord Cromarty, his son, and 162 of his M^cKenzies, and have brought them hither. Kappoch was kill'd, and many more of their principals, with some such heathenish names. Kilmarnock, L^d Lewis Drummond, and Brig^r Stapleton, with many others, are prisoners. I fear to miss the post, so must refer some other particulars to the next

Pelham to Ilchester

opportunity, and beg leave to conclude with my best respects to Lord and Lady Ilchester and Lady Caroline.

Y^r most

faithfull and obed^t Serv^t,

THO^s ASHE LEE.

Our whole slain dont quite amount to 60, nor our wounded to 300, which is most surprising.

MR. HENRY PELHAM TO LORD ILCHESTER.¹

May y 1st, 1746.

MY LORD.

I am ashamed that I have not acknowledg'd the honour of your Lordship's letter sooner. Your Brother will be my advocate, for he knows I have been in such perpetual hurry and vexation of late, that I have neither had time nor capacity to do it. I am not sure he will equally support me in what I am now going to say to your Lordship. The death of poor Winnington, as well as other vacancys in expectancy, have occasioned a good deal of altercations here; att last it is determin'd, since the King will not hear of Pitt's being Secretary att War, that he shall be Paymaster. Yonge is to succeed him, and your Brother² is design'd by the King and his friends to succeed Yonge. He wishes not to do so, and if I consider'd his ease and immediate advantage only, I should be of his mind. I always advised him to another walk, but fortune and concurrent circumstances have thrown this in his way; for the *Publick* he will make the best of any man, and for himself it is honorable, not unadvantageous, and will give him an opportunity, which he can take when he has a mind to it, of ingratiating himself where first or last we all resort. I hope you will agree with me, that as things are he should not hesitate; I know he will not refuse it, but I would wish that he should also like it. I don't doubt but you will be surpris'd that Mr. Pitt should be thought on for so high and so lucrative an employment; but he must be had, and kept. This will do it, and as it will give an opportunity to dispose of many other considerable employments all in favor of old friends, I hope they will see it is a purchase for their sakes. Many difficultys do I undergoe that I can't mention in a letter, but I am satisfied, if we don't spoil our own game, this expedient

¹ Melbury MSS.

² Henry Fox.

will establish the *old Corps*, for as long time as Court favors are to be depended upon. I am truly sensible of your Lordship's good wishes to the chief end of my views, which are publick benefit, with some degree of private ease. I am not sure whether it will be in my power to serve your Lordship's friend in the new commission of the lottery. Some few will probably be removd, but not many. I will do it, if I can. As to yourself, no one more sincerely wishes to shew his regard to you and your family; and I begin to think one of these two things will soon happen, either that I shall not be in a situation to serve any body, or that I shall be able to make my choice who I would serve, in which latter case no one can be more sincerely your well wisher than,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

obedient humble serv^t,

H. PELHAM.

MR. ASHE LEE TO MR. FOX.¹

DEAR SIR.

I thank God for his Majestie's intention, and have infinitely more pleasure on your's and the public account than thro' any interested view. I have made enquiry about John Cheek. He receiv'd 2 wounds at Culloden from a broad sword, on the head and left arm, and was left in the Hospital at Inverness. He has so far recovered as to be able to walk about the town, tho not yet able to march with the army. He bears a good character in the regiment, where he has been since April was twelvemonth. I recommended him to some of the officers of my acquaintance in that regiment, one of whom had advanced him two guineas; but to be more certain He may not be neglected, I will write to a friend in Batereau's, who quarters in Inverness, to supply him with what he may stand in need of till he joins us; and I shall punctually execute any other commands you shall honour me with.

We are now encamped near the ruins of Fort Augustus, and our habitations are among the cattle of a thousand hills; for our parties hourly bring in large droves, and every tent has its goat or two. Our fellows will grow so fat that they will seem quite strangers to a Campaign. We are environed with hills, some of them 7 miles high. Yet we daily erect Pyramids that out top the highest: but they are of smoke. Thirty houses are now burning in my

¹ Melbury MSS.

view, Glorious Firework! more entertaining than any ever exhibited at Cuper's garden. Lord Loudon is playing his part in Lochaber. His R.H. intends to visit Fort William in a day or two, where Houghton's Regiment will remain, and soon after his return we expect to climb the Corriarig and march for Edinborough. We have here eleven regiments of foot and Kingston's light horse; the rest (except 4 at Inverness) are dispersed thro' the several parts of this heathenish country, converting them to Christianity, and propagating a New Light among them. Some few of them bring in their arms, others skulk in the woods and mountains, but we take care to leave them no sustenance, unless they can browse like their goats. Lord Ogilvie and some others, as the Duke is informed, had escaped to Norway, and were apprehended there. Such is the obstinacy of some, that they choose to starve rather than surrender themselves or arms. His R.H., wearied with this abuse of his lenity, sent Major Lockart into Glenmorisson with 140 men 2 days ago, to do military execution. He is just returned, killd about 17 (some of whom are hanging by the heels in different parts, with labels expressing the reason of it), burnt above 400 houses, and drove home about 1,400 head of cattle. Lord Geo. Sackville, with 800 men and officers in proportion, was detached towards Glenshield, Moidart, &c. last night. Glengeary's house and country is this moment blazing, for he broke his word, in not bringing in the remainder of his men within a limited time. The Duke set out for Fort William at 2 this morn., and will return to night. Escorts of Kingston's horse lie along the road, and Houghton's reg^t is encamped in the way, 12 miles off. Gen. Husk desired me 2 days ago to pay his compliments to you, when I wrote.

I am,

Your most faithfull obed^t Ser^t,

THO^s ASHE LEE.

Camp at Fort Augustus.

May 31st, 1746.

You see clean paper is a scarce commodity here, and we can't always have opportunity to write. Hence I begun this 3 days ago, so must beg you to excuse the paper and any inconnection it contains.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO LORD ILCHESTER.¹

[Aug. 19, 1746.]

MY DEAR LORD.

Yesterday I went to see the terriblest Sight I ever saw. I saw the two Lords beheaded. Lord Kilmarnock, who was certainly the Genteelest Man I ever saw, came first, drest in Black, in his own fair Hair without Powder, and walked (instead of going in the mourning Coach which follow'd him, as did his Horse) quite from the Tower across Tower Hill to the Transport Office, next door to which I was, so that they came within a yard of our Door. The Sheriffs walk'd before him, and He came supported on one Side by Foster, the Dissenting Teacher, and one Mr. Hume, a Clergyman, on t'other. He then walk'd into the Transport Office, where there were two Rooms prepar'd for the two Lords, but L^d Balmerino desir'd to speak to Ld Kilmarnock, which was granted, and He came into his Room, and ask'd Him whether ever he had heard that there were orders issued before the Battle of Culloden to put all the English Prisoners to Death, for that there was such a Lye rais'd against Prince Charles. To which the Lord Kilmarnock replied, that he knew of no such orders at the Time, for He was not in the Secrets, but that since He has heard so from such undoubted authority, that He believ'd upon his Hon^r it was very true. To which Balmerino answer'd that he believ'd no such Thing, and went out of the Room. After Lord Kilmarnock had stay'd about an Hour and an half in that Place, He came forth supported in the same manner, and walk'd to the Scaffold, which was erected about Ten yards from the Door. When he was upon it, He delivered his Speech to the Sheriffs without saying a word; and then stood and pray'd with Foster, who was very devout and embraced him often, which comforted him much. After staying thus about 20 minutes, He began to undress, and forgave Jack Ketch, who ask'd him Forgiveness. He declar'd to the few People upon the Scaffold that his Repentance was very Sincere, that with his last Breath He would bless and pray for King George, and that he heartily wish'd that all People that ever engaged in such wicked Treasons as he had might meet with the Same Ignominious Fate. He then pulled off his Coat, and tuck'd his hair under a night cap; then He knelt down before the Block, which is a thing about 28 Inches high, about a yard wide, and a Foot and half thick, with Two hollows, one for the Breast to rest upon, and another to receive the Chin, so the Neck

¹ Melbury MSS.

lies upon a Rise. They kneel upon a Cushion. And here I perceiv'd first Lord Kilmarnock's great uneasiness. He rose from the Block several Times, pull'd off his waistcoat, and shew'd much anxiety. At last He knelt down for good and all, and told Jack Ketch the sign should be dropping a Handkerchief, which after about 3 minutes Prayer he did, and Jack Ketch struck off his Head at one Blow, all but a bit of skin. The Head was received into a piece of scarlet Cloth, which 4 men held on t'other side the Block. And thus ended his Life. Aged 42.

Very different was the Behaviour of L^d Balmerino, who dy'd with greater indifference than I go to Dinner. When He came out of the Tower, L^d Kilmarnock and He met upon the Stairs. He embraced Lord Kilmarnock, and told [him] he wish'd he could dye for them Both. When the Lieut^t of the Tower told him the Sheriffs were there to Demand, He said He was ready: "But before I go, Mr. Lieutenant, here is K. James's health in a Bumper to you." When he appear'd walking upon Tower Hill towards the Transport Office, I declare I could not imagine which was the Prisoner, for when I saw him at the Bar of the House of Lords He was a shabby looking old Fellow, in an old Black Suit of Clothes and a bad Bob Wigg, but here he was dress'd in the Pretender's Regimentals, Blue turn'd up with Red, a good Ty'd Wigg, and a well cock'd Hat. He walk'd with great firmness, supported by nobody. Two Clergymen walk'd behind him, and he look'd much more like an officer upon Guard than a Prisoner. After Lord Kilmarnock was beheaded and the stage new cover'd with Saw Dust to hide the Blood, and the Block new cover'd with black Cloth, Balmerino came forth looking round at the Spectators, which at a moderate Computation could not be less than a hundred Thousand. He then mounted the Scaffold, and seeing his Coffin lie there, he said: "I must look at it, to see whether they have put my Title right." When He had done reading, He threw his Hat down upon it, pull'd out his Spectacles, and read his Speech to the People upon the Scaffold; for the Soldiers, Horse and Foot, surrounded the Scaffold so that none of the Mob were within 50 yards of it. The Speech was very treasonable, and I believe He was Seven Minutes a reading It; after that He up to the Block, and said, "If I had a Thousand Lives, I would lay them all down for the same glorious Cause that I engag'd in. How could I or any Body reffuse joyning with such a sweet Prince as Prince Charles?" The Executioner then came and asked his Pardon. He forgave him, and ask'd how many Blows he gave L^d Kilmarnock, to which he answer'd one. "Oh!" says He, "that will do well for me," and then gave

three Guineas, and said he had no more. He then went to the other side of the stage to look at his Horse, where seeing the warder that attended him in the Tower, He himself called him up and made him a Present of his Peruke, which he pull'd off, and put on a Cap made of Scotch Plad, and then He pulled off his Cloaths and embrac'd Two Friends very chearfully. I could hear the Smack of his Kisses up to where I was. He then turn'd to the Two Clergymen that came with him, and to whom he had not yet spoke one word. He told them that He thank'd them for attending Him; that They had done all that could be done for him, but he hoped they had found him well prepar'd. From thence he went to the Block, and knelt on the wrong side of It, which being told of, He rose nimbly up and went immediately on the other side, where He told Jack Ketch His Sign should be when he lifted up his Right Arm: and He then perceiving Jack Ketch went from him, which He did to fetch the ax, that was in a Box at t'other end of the Stage (and which is exactly a Carpenter's ax), He follow'd him with his Eyes, and seeing him take up the ax, he call'd to him and took it from him, and manag'd it in his own hands. He return'd it then to J. Ketch, and putting down his Head upon the Block in a quarter of a Minute He toss'd his Right arm up with the greatest [calmness], and his Head was cut off at three Blows, but the first did the Business. I saw his Face when he laid it down, and indeed he never chang'd colour, nor did I see in Him in all that Dreadfull Time the least Shadow of Fear.

This account I write as a very exact one for you and Lady Ilchester. I hear since that L^d Kilmarnock came out of his room two or three times at the Transport Office to go to the Scaffold, but returnd, and the fourth time He came out.

Since I write this account, I hear there is a mail come in, and that Huy is taken, and some French have appeard before Maestricht; and tis thought there has been a Battle, but that our Courier may have been taken. The Prince of Conti and Count Clermont, having refus'd to act Longer under Marshall Saxe, are both banish'd to their Houses by the King of France.

My Dear L^d, I most sincerely wish you may soon make up your late loss, and that you and Lady Ilchester may ever be most happy.

I am, with great esteem and affection,

your faithfull friend

& humble Servant,

C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS.

Tuesday night.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO MR. FOX.

DEAR SR.

You will think me very far gone, when even curiosity about this new Battle cant fetch me to Town, but it is charity that keeps me here. Poor Mr. Montagu¹ has lost his only remaining Brother, and I can not bring myself to leave Him and his Sisters in the extremest Distress I ever saw. Tho I know writing to you is securing an answer, yet I know too how unreasonable it is to trouble you; but if you could find a moment to tell me the material Particulars, I should be infinitely obliged to you, and more if you would send your Friend the Duke to repair this misfortune,² unless one of the Grenvilles should insist on the command.

I am, Dear Sr,

Y^r obedient Ser^t,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Windsor. Oct. 9, 1746.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS³ TO MR. FOX.⁴Hague. Saturday. April $\frac{18}{29}$, 1747.

I sit down to give, my Dear Fox, a better account, and a larger one than any that will come to England, concerning the wonderfull revolution that has happen'd in this Republick.⁵ I would have sent it to Lord Chesterfield, but as Lord Sandwich is Minister here and sends the accounts, I thought it might be impertinent in me, both to his Lordship here and the Ministry in England. I have talk'd with every body worth talking to in this place already, tho' I came here but last night, and have met with the greatest civilitys from all the foreign Ministers at this Court.

¹ George Montagu, Walpole's great friend, who was living at Windsor. He died in 1780.

² The battle of Roucoux. Fox was now Secretary-at-War.

³ Hanbury-Williams was on his way to take up his first post abroad, as Minister at Dresden.

⁴ Melbury MSS.

⁵ In consequence of the ill success of the war against France, the populace of Holland rose against their existing Government, and again set up the House of Orange. This was in accordance with the precedent, exemplified in the 'Thirty Years' War and in 1672, that the nation considered themselves best able to deal with a difficult situation under a personal monarchy, but preferred a republican government in times of peace.

I must begin my narrative with the taking of Sluys. The Commander there Reciev'd the French officers, as if they had been another Dutch Battallion walking into the town. Upon this one Palliardi, a Major in one of the Battallions, ask'd the Commander whether any Dutch Fortress was ever to be defended. The Commander answerd, The French were not their Enemy's, and woud protect them in their Liberty's and Religion, and that many at the Hague knew very well he was to give the town up that day, and Lowendhall himself declar'd, as Palliardi is ready to make oath, that he came there to protect them at the desire and with the knowledge of many of the most considerable among the States. Sure this was a weak declaration of Monsieur Lowendhall's. After the Town was taken, it happend that this Palliardi was the person chose to bring the account of it to the Hague; & in his journey he came thro' Zealand, and declar'd in every town what both the Commander and Lowendhall had said. Upon this one Mr. Varelst, the Leading man at Terveer, a known Friend of the Prince of Orange's, began to stir in his favour, and soon brought the magistracy of that town to Chuse him Stat-holder, &c.; and as soon as they had done, the People went with Orange colour'd Cockades to Flushing, where they had the same good luck. One Mr. Vancitters brought in Middleburg; and the only Opposition they met with was at Zurickzee, where some Magistrates opposd and refusd the Statholder, but the others, with the People that had broke in, Pulld off their Periwigs and beat them about their heads and flung them out of window; and then the affair went very easily. I forgot to tell you that at Middleburg, one of the magistrates being sick, the Populace went to his house, where meeting his wife, and she being (what is not common) a very talkative woman gave them ill language in abundance; upon which They pull'd off her cap and whip'd her, and then Pull'd down Her Husband's house, but brought all his things of value to the Stathouse, and said they did not do it for the sake of plunder, that they would have kill'd him, but that he was a Papist, a Traytor, and a very wicked man, and therefore they left him alive to repent of all his sins. What contributed mostly to support and animate the Zealanders was our Men of War, that came unexpectedly to their Succour, For we have at this instant one & twenty Men of War (small ones) upon the coasts of Zealand; & their gratitude to England is Prodigious. This was all just done when I arriv'd in Holland; and the first thing I saw at my landing at Helvotsluys was the Orange Standard erected upon the top of Somersdyke church. All the Towns I came thro', to come

to this place, were in the same mind. But where the flame would break out in Holland was uncertain till last night, when it was very sure that Rotterdam would begin this morning; and accordingly at 7 o'clock this morning, it being the day for the Election of new magistrates for that town, and the Forty Magistrates being assembled in their Town house for that business, the Burghers deputed sixteen of their body to go there and demand the Prince of Orange for Statholder; which they did, advising them to do it quietly, for there were five or six very guilty Persons that were sitting amongst them else would suffer, and they had ten thousand people ready to second their intentions. The Magistrates, upon this, desired time to consult among themselves, which they did for about five minutes, and then declared out of their windows to the People the Prince of Orange Statholder, and hung the Orange Standard out of the Townhouse; and immediately dispatched their Deputies to acquaint the States of Holland, who are now sitting here, with every thing they had done. They arrived here this morning, and went to the States about two, told them what they had done, and proposed to the whole Deputies of the Province to choose him Statholder. By this Time The Mob was gathered round the Stathouse to the number of about two thousand, but I think mostly women, & I'm sure two companies of our Guards would have dispersed them all. I forgot to tell you that Mr. Dewit, grandson to Cornelius Dewitt, upon the first News of what happened in Zealand, left this place where he was as Deputy from Dort, went to Dort, but staid but an hour there, and is gone quite off, most people think into France.

The States of Holland being met, and the town of Rotterdam having made their proposal, Count Bentinck declared in the name of the Nobles He was ready to Assent; but the Deputies of the other towns said they had no instructions upon that head, and must go to their different towns for instructions. But the Populace growing more mutinous, Mr. Bentinck and Bailiff Wasnaer were sent to appease them; but they would not be appeased, without they chose the Prince Statholder, and displayed his Standard out of window. Upon this the Deputies all swore they would elect him on Wednesday at farthest, and agreed to put forth his standard, which Mr. Van Haaren went and fetched from the place where he knew it was, and out of the Window it was thrust. While this was doing Mr. Bentinck went to Dinner, but was soon sent for back by the Magistrates to protect the Deputies. But before he came, Halewyn of Dort thought to brave the storm and ventured out, but the

Populace told him to go back and do his duty, which he did not mind. They, upon that, tryd to pull his wig off, which held fast, so that at last they struck him two or three times, Pushd him down twice, and made him go back to the Stathouse, which he did as fast as he coud. Upon Mr. Bentinck and Bailiff Wasnaer's shewing the People the Orange Standard hung out, and assuring them that they shoud have a Statholder upon their honour by Wednesday next, the People were quieted: but the Pensionary (who the Prince of Orange's Friends tell me is very well intentiond, but who was certainly raised to that post by his Highness's Enemy's) was in great danger, and coud not have been savd but by Mr. Bentinck's carrying him away in his coach. Mr. Bentinck is the Favourite of, and in the greatest credit with the People. The Mob continues in motion, but not angrily so. If they break a few windows, tis all they will do this night. But certain it is that the Prince of Orange is as much Statholder of the Seven Provinces as ever King George was King of England. This has raised this Country from the Depth of dispair to the highest spirits, and tis certainly true that you may see the slow and serious Dutch running about the streets, and hear them laugh very heartily. Adieu, my Dear Friend, I am quite tird, but the goodness of my news hurried me on, and I know you love particulars; and every word of this is true.

Y^{rs} entirely,

C. H. W.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.¹

Hague. 6th May. N.S. 1747.

Every Province except that of Overissell (which is a sure thing) having now declard the Prince of Orange Statholder, I proceed to give you all the further information I am able, with respect to this great and important Event.

I venturd at the Conclusion of my last to assure you of the certainty of Holland's following the example of Zealand. Rotterdam gave the first stroke, and as the only difficulty was about what Amsterdam woud do, I went there myself to see what pass'd. The Crowd before the Stathouse gatherd the night before the Election, and continu'd there all night; and on Tuesday last in the morning the Magistrates went to the Stathouse, and in a quarter of an hour the Burgomaster causd the Orange Flag to be hung out of the window, and

Melbury MSS.

wavd their hats round their heads, and then the vast multitudes below hollowd, but not very loud: for there is much flegm even in a Dutch *Mob*. Their leaders can disperse them, and order them to meet at the same place three days afterwards, which they will infallibly do; and what is most strange, they can be very well contented with doing *nothing*. This Town is very violent for the Prince, and I assure you any Person that shoud be mad enough to walk these Streets (from the lowest to highest) without an Orange Cockade, woud infallibly be put to death. Two have already been drownd, and others narrowly escap'd; particularly a Doctor of Physick, upon whom the Joke is, "Qu'on a fait prendre les eaux au Médecin mesme": & all these things are done in a quiet way. This Town was finely illuminated upon Wednesday night. The streets full of People all night, but no disorder. Only a little before the Grand Pensionary's Door (of whom I retract my opinion in my last, and do now certainly know he was thoroughly in the interest of the late Governing Party), where they brought some Cannon, and fird them (with powder only) against the house; and then insisted upon this gravest and most silent of all Men's coming out of his house, and standing upon the steps before his door, to drink two Large Bumpers of Rhenish to the Prince of Orange's health. His escapes have been very great, so have Halewyn's. In the mob before the Courthouse that I wrote you word of in my last, several Persons drew their knives at him, and some flung ropes with running knots, endeavouring to catch him round the neck, and their design was to have drag'd him [to] the place where Dewitt was murderd, and there to have Tore him to pieces. He, The Pensionary, and Monsieur Scravemore, the First Noble of Holland, have had the greatest escapes.

All The Towns of this province made their Elections easily in favour of the Prince, but none more so than the Town of Dort. I saw last night a letter that Mr. Van Haaren shewd me from the Prince of Orange to him upon this occasion. Twas wrote as to his Particular Friend, and begun *Mon Cher Monsieur*. The letter was one side of Paper, and consisted wholly in adoring the wisdom of Providence, whose immediate Finger had so visibly appeard in this affair; & in doubting whether his abilitys woud be able to support the vast weight his Dear Country was laying upon his shoulders. But for his Dear Country what woud he not go through, &c. It surprizd me, because I thought this was a sort of writing that was always made use of when one wrote to a great many, but never when one wrote to a very few.

Zealand is now the only place that is not quiet; the People cry loudly for

Justice against their Betrayers. They have drown'd one Considerable Magistrate, and another, who had been very violent but is not so considerable, They took and put in a Dung-wheelbarrow, rowld him all round the Town, and then overturned him upon a Dunghill, and afterwards put him into prison where he now lyes. The Prince of Orange is still at Leuwarden, waiting for the Zealand Deputys. Most of his Friends wish he woud come forwards, for in this time any new Turn of Affairs and extraordinary piece of news, good or bad, that sets the People in motion, might be attended with dismall Consequences. An accident of that sort happend on Monday last in this Town. There was a Report, without an Author, that thirty sail of French ships had appeard off this Coast. The Allarm it occasiond cant be conceivd; the whole town rose, run to the Court, and demanded Arms to defend their Country; and twas with much ado that Mr. Bentinck and the Bailliff Wasnaer appeasd them, by assuring them twas not a French Fleet, but the Fleet of their good Allys and Friends the English. This quieted them. And yet this was no more true than tother; for neither French nor English vessells had appeard upon the Coast at all. Thus I have wrote you all that Part of the present state of this Country that nobody else will write about, and Here ends my account of the Prince of Orange's Miraculous Elevation to the *Statbouderat*, upon which I shall only make one or two Remarks.

The wise measure taken in England of sending Commodore Mitchell at the instant they did, and the quick passage he had, to the Coast of Zealand, gave Rise to the Whole. For tho the Zealanders were thoroughly allarmd with the Taking of Sluys, and thoroughly convinced that they were betrayd to France, yet they saw no present *Appui*, and the *Dispair* they were in left them in a doubt whether they should lye down under its Heavy weight, or try to make use of the Force that it gives. The Appearance of the English Fleet Turnd the Scale. They saw they were supported, and at once They resolvd to make use of that support, which the King our Master had so wisely and so generously sent them.

My other observation is upon the assistance that the Absurdity of the French measures has given to this happy Revolution. I have no doubt but the last Journey that the Pensionary made to Breda, He not only considerd of, but settled every article of the Seperate Treaty between Holland & France. And among other advices that Mr. Du Theil and He proposd to each other, that of frightning the Dutch into their measures by attacking their territorys, was the main point agreed upon (long before) between them.

Zealand was to be put into the hands of France, as a pledge of their sincerity. But these Wise Councillours forgot that this stroke carried two edges; & that when the only option left was France or a Statholder, it was not the Power of a Few hated and despis'd Magistrates that could controul a Rich and free People and sell them at their will to whatever Master they pleased. And Indeed the zealous devotion of the late Ruling Dutch men to the Dictates of France has totally ruind the French interest here. Mons^r. Du Theil desird the Pensionary & Twickel to do more than they coud answer for, and they readily consented; & The Fatality of the wicked Attempt hath amply exposd their joint councils. A new spirit visibly spreads itself over this Country, and Particularly thro the Troops. Sass van Gand and Fort Phillipine defend themselves well,¹ & the Dutch Gates will no longer open at every French man's knock. The Duke of Cumberland has not less than one hundred and twelve thousand men under him. And he will soon have another great reinforcement added to them, by the Removal of Prince Waldeck, who servd the Orders of his Late Masters but too well, & this Country as ill as possible. This is a great blow to him, and a great mortification to Cardinal Tencin, whose scheme this has avowedly been. The French talk no more of their Monarch's coming down to the Army, and you will find Mareschall Saxe soon acting upon the Defensive. The Duke is meditating a great stroke, not the taking of Antwerp,—but marching towards Mechlin directly, where the whole French Magazines are. In my next sheet you will have the whole history of what I told you at London upon Spanish affairs, and what your Friends in the Ministry did not think fit at that time to open to you so fully as they coud have done, for they might have told you the treaty was as good as finish'd, and that Lord Sandwich woud sign whenever he pleased.² And the reason of his not signing was only to see what turn affairs woud take here.

But I must now tell you that Mr. Blackwood will deliver to Lady Caroline the Piece of Chintz Lady Falkener bought for her, and my Brother Tom, who brings you this letter, another from me, not so large; but I bought it because it was like a silk gown Lady Caroline had and lik'd; there is just enough to make her a round gown. I had a great deal of Discourse with Mr. Bentinck about her, but nothing worth mentioning. I beg youd make my sincere compliments to Lady Caroline, and assure her of my heartiest wishes for her health and happiness.

¹ "Since I wrote this, Sass van Gand is taken, but made a tolerable good defence."

² Lord Sandwich had been appointed Plenipotentiary for the conferences to be held at Breda.

This sheet begins with Spanish affairs according to my promise, and that you may understand them the better I must begin with the History and Character of Macañás, the Plenipotentiary at Breda. He is a Spaniard of fourscore and four years of Age, of very Lively parts and knowledge in Buisness. He is of the Old Spanish stamp, and has been banished out of his country ever since the Present Queen Dowager began to govern Spain. The reason of his Banishment was, that being employd in a high station in their Finances, He tryd to bring a project of his to bear (for he is a great Projector) to increase the King's revenues, by bringing back the Religious houses in Spain to their original institution. As, for example, where a Convent had been at first endow'd with such an estate for the maintenance of an Abbot and twelve monks, and had since been encreasd by Donations to maintain forty monks, His project was to have lett the present possessors dye off till they came to their Original Number, and then have seiz'd the Estates that had been given for maintenance of the Additional Numbers for the King's Use. He also oppos'd the Queen's measures very early, which made Her Majesty and the Jesuits joyn together to destroy him: And they banish'd him. He has liv'd ever since retir'd in France, and was actually at Paris when he recieved his Instructions and full Powers to repair to Breda. The French knew nothing of the greatness or fullness of his Powers, but imagin'd him sent there for form. For while Mons^r. Puisieux was there, he had the affairs of Spain put into his hands, but not so fully as He pretended, for his power was confin'd to the affairs of Italy: Du Theil says His powers are as Large. But Macañás's Commission bore the Latest Date, and he clearly prov'd there could be no dispute who was the Spanish Minister. He has at his age a great impetuosity about him, and when He arriv'd at Breda, which was in the morning, He ran all about the Town till He had found Lord Sandwich, whom he eagerly sought. When He had found him, He told him at once that He would be his second at all the Conferences, and that He wish'd for a peace with England, and had full powers to conclude one. Lord Sandwich (to whom Macañás was an Angel from Heaven) gave him his full instructions to protract all negotiations, pour ne point entrer en matière, and they together form'd the original demand of Macañás's to be admitted to the Conferences, which were allways held at the neutral (but partial) Dutch Plenipotentiarys'. When the Spanish Secretary enter'd the room the French Minister's Countenance fell, and after He had presented his demand nobody spoke, till Ld Sandwich got up and said He could not oppose the Minister of so respectable a Monarch as the

King of Spain entering into their Conferences ; upon which Mons^r. du Theil (in a long preface wherein He intimated He was Minister for the King of Spain to a degree) declar'd against admitting him, and more particularly so because the admission of the Hungarian and Sardinian Ministers must absolutely follow, to which Lord Sandwich declar'd He had no exception. The Dutch Ministers said nothing, & so the meeting broke up.

The next morning Macañas came to Lord Sandwich, & talk'd the whole affair over with him. In the mean time Du Theil wrote to Paris furiously against Macañas, & Declar'd at Breda that it was a doubt whether He was the King of Spain's Minister or No ; but that if He was, He was certain the Court of Spain woud disavow his whole proceeding. After Macañas (who, with his great parts, is a little fickle in himself) left Ld Sandwich, He went (as He had told his Lordship he woud) to the Dutch Ministers, and they, being our very good friends and Allys, Persuaded the old man easily to insist no longer upon his pretensions of being admitted to the Conferences. But the Sagacious Lord Sandwich, who from well knowing the man doubted of the Pensionarys' Rhetorick, follow'd him there, and the first thing he heard was the Pensionarys declaring to him that Mons^r. Macañas had given up the Point, and that they might now proceed upon Buisness. Upon this Ld Sandwich turn'd to Macañas, and begun with saying, Monsieur, Je m'adresse à vous. After all you & I settled this morning, is it possible you can so far give up the instructions of the King your Master ; is it possible you can so far forget your Character as a Man, as to not insist upon your just demand of being admitted into our Congress ? Tis your right, I, Minister of the Declar'd enemy of the King of Spain, give it you. Is it your friends that hinder your entrance ? Macañas, upon this, alter'd his Tone, and Declar'd He woud adhere to his former Sentiments. And so that Company broke up.

After this, Macañas went to Du Theil's, & Told him he was resolv'd to adhere to his requête. But the able Du Theil (who has been educated in the French Secretary's office these fifty years) soon persuaded him to relax, and Macañas came back to Ld Sandwich's house, & told him that He had given up the Point, & that he had done it for the better ; for that when they enter'd into matière & began the Conferences upon peace, He would assist him to the utmost, & he could do it as well without doors as within. But then Ld Sandwich told him that He desird to be serv'd in his own way ; that if He gave up his promise to him in the first instance, He could not depend upon him in the Second, & upon which Macañas desird to know what his Lordship

would have him do, He told He would have him draw a Second memorial stronger than the first, and deliver it at their next meeting, which He would endeavour to have held the next day. Upon this He & Macañás drew up the Second memorial, and Lord Sandwich (when it was finishd) went immediately to Mons^r. Du Theil's to complain, as he pretended that the Letters He wrote to His Grandmother at Paris were all stop'd, tho they only related to family affairs, and desired him to permit his next letters to go in his packet; Which Mons^r Du Theil easily, and with a great Deal of French Civility consented to. Then Ld Sandwich affectedly got up to go (I love to paint a Scene); and as Du Theil followd him to the Doors He said naïvement, "Since Mons^r. Macañás has no more difficultys, I am ready to begin buisness when you please." "When you please," reply'd Du Theil, "name your day, my Lord." "Any Day," says my Lord, "that you like, to morrow if you please." "To morrow with all my heart," says Du Theil. "Well then," says Ld Sandwich, "I will go [to] the Dutch Ministers, and inform them that we are agreed." "If you please, my Ld," says Du Theil, and so they parted. Upon this Ld Sandwich went immediately to the Dutch Plenipotentiarys, and found only Wasnaer Twickel at home, told him that the French Minister & He had agreed to hold the conference the next day at eleven o'clock at their house, to which Wasnaer (who, thank God, is as simple as he is ill intentiond) agreed immediately; but before Ld Sandwich could go out of the room, the Pensionary Gilles came in, & upon Wasnaer telling him what pass'd between Ld Sandwich and himself, He saw thro' the whole, and said He could Consent to no Conference till the affair of Macañás was settled, & that they must have an éclaircissement upon that affair. But here Ld Sandwich spoke (with that Spirit that he is Master of at will) and told the Dutch Ministers that now their Behaviour was too gross, that they had ever pressd him to enter upon buisness and that the moment He had settled the opening of it with the French Minister, They were the People to obstruct it: they who talkd so much of Peace were the first to put effectual stop to it. That He declar'd Himself abandon'd by them; That they gave up poorly the interests of their Allys, and the libertys of Europe; That He should immediately write home every word that had pass'd, & did not doubt of justification and support from his Master. That He should also inform every body in Holland of their proceedings; and that even in their own Country he did not doubt of His being able to demonstrate and convince People of their being the Impeders of a general Pacification. All this had no effect at the

instant, for Gilles adher'd. But the next morning at ten o'clock, Gilles and Twickel came and told my Lord that at eleven they expected his Lordship and Du Theil, who accordingly met, & by that time Gilles had informd Du Theil of all he (plainly) saw. So that there appeard no surprize in their faces when Macañas's Secretary produced a second Memorial stronger than the first, wherein he recited his full Powers, ask'd for admission, or to have the answers in writing (which he had desir'd in his first, tho I forgot to tell you so). Ld Sandwich consented to all he ask'd, but Du Theil & our dear Allys refus'd. So the Conference broke up, & then The French Party all declar'd that Macañas woud be disavowd by his Court and directly recall'd for these proceedings, and that the Courier woud soon arrive from Madrid. The Courier did indeed arrive, but so far from a revocation that He brought a thorough approbation of all Macañas's transactions, and farther power to him for the conclusion of a peace with England.

Now I come to the point of what I told you in England. Good God what a fortunate man Sandwich is! What is the industry of a Horace Walpole or the Parts of a Chesterfield compar'd to one moment's good Luck.

The Peace with Spain is as good as made. The only little dispute remaining is whether you are to engage in the treaty *to use your good offices* at a general pacification; or only to say *that you sincerely wish* there could be a way found for an establishment for Don Phillip.

The Spaniards dont say one word about Gibraltar or Georgia. They only insist that we shoud give up the Annual South Sea Ship, which I see no exception to. And as to freedom of Navigation they are most reasonable upon that point, provided that after Commissarys on each side have settled that affair, any ship that breaks the agreement shall be treated as a Pirate. And they ask in return, the securing Naples to Don Carlos. These affairs have transpir'd little, for Count Harrach told me yesterday that in our pacification with Spain we had been very unmindfull of the interests of the Austrians; that if we sufferd every body to take pieces out of her Majesty's territorys, She woud be quite stript at the end of the warr; & that He supposd that if Don Phillip was to have a settlement, that also must be found somewhere in the Q. of Hungary's dominions. He seems a little out of humour with us as well as with the K. of Sardinia.

I have now told you all that this place, so fertile in Ministers & Politicians & Politicks, has informd me of.

But I cant conclude my letter without declaring my very high opinion

of Lord Sandwich's character. It is impossible to behave better than he does, & that behaviour meets with the greatest respect. He is, to a Stranger, visibly the Superiour Minister at this Court. He has great coolness & great fire in him, both subservient to great sense. Count Chavanne, who has here a very good Character and is an amiable and sensible man, talk'd to me of him in raptures, and said He did not believe it possible for a young man, so new in affairs, to have acted so thoroughly both like a man of buisness & Parts. He must be a great man.

I have done. I have told you all I know, but I have told nothing that I dont certainly know. Adieu, my Dear Fox. I go for Dresden tomorrow morning, and shant be able to see the P. of Orange make his entry here.

Farewell, remember me envoy to Dresden,

Y^r,

CHARLES HANBURY-WILLIAMS.

HON. HENRY LEGGE¹ TO MR. FOX.

Hague. March 11, 1748.

DEAR FOX.

As little credit as you and I have given the Dutch for their preparations and ability to support the war, I believe upon trial they will be found to fall far short even of our expectations.² In short, they seem to me to be destitute of men, money, Forage, and Inclination: in all other respects as able and as willing to maintain their share of the campaign as you can conceive people to be. The Duke has, I believe, already yielded to them the Hessians and the troops of Wolfenbuttle, to make up something like the appearance of an army for them on the side of Breda, and will take the Field himself with the English and Hanoverians only. And yet I question, with all the assistance that can be given and every spur that can be used to animate them, if they will bring 30,000 men to the Field, instead of the 66,000, which they were to have had by the Convention, exclusive of garisons. The Duke's situation I most heartily pity, and I believe he begins to be sensible how much will be expected from him, and how little the temper and ability of this country will

¹ The Hon. Henry Bilson Legge (1708-1764), son of first Earl of Dartmouth. At this time Envoy-Extraordinary to the King of Prussia.

² The whole allied force on April 11 numbered only 35,000 men.

enable him to do. These considerations one should imagine would lead to peace, but I see no reason to make me believe that is determined. Lord Sandwich is gone to Aix,¹ whither I intend to follow him, and then perhaps may be better able to guess at his real sentiments, but by the language of those he has left behind there is as little inclination to peace as there is ability for war. He has certainly been imposed upon here by professions, and inflamed by the hot headed party to a greater degree of zeal than perhaps his most intimate connection required of him or may thank him for; so that when he finds that none of the professions answer (which they certainly will not do), and his best patron grows uneasy at finding so much more undertaken than can be made good,—I don't think it impossible but Ld S. may change his tone. I wish it may not be too late if he does. St Severin is not yet come to Aix, but Mon^r. de Saxe is arriv'd at Brussels, and by all I can learn they design to make 3 several attacks at Maestricht, at Breda, and upon Zeeland at the same time, and have force enough for them all. What shall hinder one or all from succeeding, I can't guess. I wait here only to get one point settled with the P. of O. and the Ministry; but such is the *Strenua inertia* of the place, that tho' they are perpetually in Council, nothing is determined or executed; and by what I learn my solicitation will not be comply'd with yet. It is very likely they may keep me a fortnight longer before they say *No*. The P. of O. is certainly strongly inclined to peace, and I fancy the Princess has found out how much the preservation of the Stadtholdership depends upon it, and perhaps the command in chief, which tho' swallow'd is but ill digested, may contribute a little towards this alteration.

I hope Lady Caroline and Ste² are return'd from Bath in perfect health. I beg my Duty to them both, and am, Dear Fox,

Y^r most faithfull humble Serv^t,

H. B. LEGGE.

¹ Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Peace Congress had been sitting for some months. Sandwich was also one of the plenipotentiaries.

² Henry Fox's eldest son, born in 1745.

HON. HENRY LEGGE TO MR. FOX.

Berlin. May 12. N.S. 1748.

DEAR FOX.

I found your kind letter of Mar. 20th from Bath at my arrival here about a fortnight ago. Your advice—"Be cautious" was certainly very good. I bore it well in mind, and found it of great benefit to me. Not that I held my tongue neither (Lady Caroline knows I am not given to silence), but I began with the *principal person*, who gave me good opportunity, and there I went no faster than was discreet or consistent with y^r advice—always taking care not to leave his concurrence and approbation behind me in every thing I said, or making good the ground in proportion as I advanced. In the mean while the state of affairs spoke loudly, his own feelings began to interest him the other way, the argument grew stronger and consequently my obligations to management weaker every day. So that by the time I went to Aix I was furnish'd with a Brief from his own mouth as ample as I could have wish'd, and much stronger than I should have ventured if I had begun with the Agent. I perfectly understand the word *Pity*, which you have emphatically mark'd with a scratch underneath. I never meant to let it run away with me, but I assure you it is an excellent word, and help'd me to introduce some pretty strong applications which perhaps would not have been swallow'd in any other vehicle. Perhaps all I have been saying is so wise and anigmatical that you may not understand one word of it; if that should be the case you will impute it to that cunning and sagacity with which you justly observe we Foreign ministers are all endow'd, and which is very apt to express itself in the style obscure and unintelligible.

I congratulate you and every man of common sense most sincerely upon the signing of the preliminaries. I wish I could have had the satisfaction of giving you the first notice; but if peace was to have come from that Quarter, I fancy we should have waited longer for it. Olives grow not in this barren sand, the *Ferrea seges* is the only crop we know of in this country, and that vegetable I must own is in such perfection as one can hardly believe. If my news papers say true the general peace has been preceded by a domestic one peculiar to yourself. I mean reconciliation with the Duke of Richmond.¹ I

¹ Fox's marriage with Lady Caroline Lennox had been celebrated without the consent of her parents. They were not received or forgiven by them for four years from the date of the wedding.

wish you joy, and desire, together with my very best compliments, you will tell Lady Caroline. I am as glad of it as she is. *Il n'y alloit pas de votre fortune, mais c'est toujours une grosse épine tirée du pied.*

You see I give into the true frippery scrap-mongering qualities of y^r Foreign ministers, and in time may go forth an errant Finch. Let me hear from you now and then to keep my wit within bounds, and prevent this disaster, which will be of great service to, dear Fox,

Y^r affect^o faithfull

Serv^t,

H. L.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. FOX.

Hanover. July $\frac{17}{28}$, 1748.

DEAR S^r.

I am too sensible of the favor of your private letter of the 8th, not to take the first opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for it.¹ As to my situation here, it is what my best Friends could wish it, but I already feel the misfortune of being alone, when affairs of the greatest importance are depending, and such as in many instances don't admit of Delay. However I act to the best of my Judgement, and must, now I am embarked, take the Consequences. One Rule I shall invariably follow, to do no one thing but what I will inform my Friends of afterwards, if I have not Time to consult them before. In the main, I think things look well. My principal, and indeed sole view, is to conclude as soon as possible, in order to have the Benefit of the Peace, but that that Conclusion should be upon a safe foot, and in that, I think, there are great hopes of succeeding. We have already order'd the Russians back, which will be a good Article for you oeconomists, and I am really endeavouring to please you in that way as well as I can. But you must indulge me in sticking to my favorite *Old System*; you love it at home, and allow me to love it both at home and abroad. I have got all your Army Recommendations done, that Load which I found here upon my arrival; Every Thing is consented to, and you shall have the Commissions by y^r next Messenger. Copeley struck for Chelsea. He was a good Officer, y^e King said, and an old one, but that had usually been given to a *Parliament Man*. Pray tell my Brother this. I thought the Duke wished it for this Copely, and

¹ Newcastle was abroad with the King as Minister-in-Attendance.

so I got it done. As to S^r Ch^s Hanbury Williams, I have really not had time to speak to the King about it: I am inclined to spare him the trouble of his Polish Journey, if it can be done without Inconvenience.¹ In all events, if it is approved in London, He may certainly go to Turin in, or towards y^e winter. S^r J. Gray to Dresden. We set out for the University of [illegible] on Tuesday, and shall return hither on Fryday or Saturday next. His Royal Highness the Duke comes hither the week after. I heartily wish I could have attended the Duke of Richmond, Lady Caroline, and yourself at Claremont. It is a party I should be proud to see there. I beg my compliments to Lady Caroline. Pray tell the Duke of Richmond he must excuse my not writing; I have really not time, but I will obey his orders about Lord Kenard.

I am, Dear S^r, your most obedient

Humble Servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. HENRY HARRIS² TO MR. FOX.

DEAR SIR.

You bid me write to you as next Tuesday. My readiness to obey your Commands, you see, makes me overstep them.

Ld Monson died, I believe, before you went. As good a man as he was, we are not in half the hurry to make his Epitaph, as we are to find out who succeeds Him at the Board of Trade; the Persons mentioned are Ld Ilchester (quod per omnes Deos oro!), Ld Jersey, and our Friend the old Baron Ducie, "That best, good man with the worst natur'd Face." I absolutely do insist that Ld Ilchester be the man; and in a matter which adds strength and Figure to your Family, I am out of all patience at hearing any objection made to my Plan from attendance, confinement, &c. Let Ducie be Army-Comptroller, and then all will be as I wish it, and as it ought to be. Mr. West shakes his head: hesitates. Some mighty wisdom or other will (I suppose) hinder this Thing's going in the best way They could put it. A great Pension and a great Jointure is sufficient sure for the plain, unblazing Talents of Ld Jersey.

¹ Hanbury-Williams was Minister at the Court of Saxony. The Elector of Saxony was also King of Poland, and his annual visit to Warsaw was viewed with dismay by Williams, whose duty forced him to follow in the suite, though his health and purse could with difficulty support the strain.

² A friend of Fox and Winnington. By the latter's influence he was made Commissioner of the Wine licence.

A dreadfull Fracas happen'd t'other day among them at Bristol Hot-well Lady J—y flew out, quite scorched, and outrageous at Her Lord's manifest gallantry to Lady Charlotte Ed. . . . 'Twas a fine scene. The Peer (as softly as He seems) assumed the Husband, and loudly bid Her Cork up all her complaints, or pack up instantly for London.

The Duke of Somerset will not die this bout. All is calm at Cambridge, and I am told that H.R.H. for once has taken good advice, and is now disposed (was the accident to happen) to drop his pretensions to the Chancellorship.

The Bishop of Osnabrug is dead. The Election is alternative between the House of Hanover and the Chapter. It is now our Turn, and as there is an End of War and mischief, why may not the D. of Cumberland, after all his military Labours, accept the peaceful Crosier, preserve his soul and Body, and soberly mind the Business of his own Sal-i-vation?

How can I help it? People will not Die, and Do as they should Do, and furnish me with more paragraphs. In this barren Time then and this Town so desolate, permit me to treat you with an Anecdote in the style and manner of Campbell.

In the Conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle, previous to the signing the Preliminaries, Ld Sandwich strenuously insisted that the Young Pretender should be obliged to quit the French Dominions. This was debated in Council before the King at Versailles. M. d'Argenson and all the Ministers argued the necessity of this measure for the sake of removing all Jealousies, of making the Peace better received in England, and of Perfecting the Great Work, &c. The King looked uneasy and disconcerted, conscious of his former engagements and of the strong assurances he had given the young Man. "Well" says He, at last, "if this must be done, who will undertake to deliver this Resolution to the Prince?" All the Ministers were mute; all averse to bearing so unpleasant a message. After a long pause, Cardinal Tencin said He would take it upon Himself; He would be the Spirit to go forth, &c. 2 *B. Kings*.

The King warmly observed that He was the unfittest Person for this Business from two Reasons. The 1st, from the Fierté of his Temper, and that boisterous speech and manner, so totally improper in a Proceeding between Princes. The 2^d, from the deep obligations He had to the old Pretender, from the anterior large Share He had in the Scheme of the Invasion, and his Ministerial Promises to y^e Prince of support and unflinching Protection from France. All this hindered not the Cardinal's pursuing his

Point. He waited upon the Prince, who was informed of all that had passed in Council. Upon entering the apartments, it was signified to the Cardinal by Mr. Keith (for there are Keiths in every Court in Europe) that if He did not come with a direct Message from the King, the Prince would not see Him. He came, He said, by the King's order, and was introduced, and told the Prince that His Majesty by the Necessity of his Affairs could not longer allow Him an Abode in France, and proposed Fribourg as a proper place of Retreat.

Princeps loquitur. "The vilest, the unhappiest man (S^r) in France, no, not to Ransom Himself from the extremest misery, could have been wrought upon to bring me such a message. You have the Glory of it. You, whom my Father's weakness lifted to the Purple, with the abhorrence of this whole Kingdom, and to the Shame and Scandal of the Holy Court! But what had I to expect from a man Stigmatised with Perjury, and stained with every vice? Thus much to you. Now Tell the King your Master that I came into France upon the Faith of a Letter written to me with his own Hand, wherein He gave me assurances of his utmost support, and that while He had one Town left Him of all his Dominions, I might depend upon shelter there and his perpetual Friendship. I live here in this hired Hotel, at my own expence, and will never remove but by force and as a Prisoner. Indeed I am a Prisoner, betrayed, abused, and Insulted. I expect all future messages should be signified to me by an Exempt of the King's Guards, since your master looks upon me no longer as his Friend, as his Ally, as the immediate Descendant from a long Line of great Kings."

The Duke de Nevers was afterwards sent to bring the young Gentleman to better Temper.

Do you believe one single word of this curious story? I do not: but tell it you, as I imperfectly catch'd it from Campel's own relation t'other day, over a Haunch of Venison. My humblest respects to Lady Caroline, and to Ld and Lady Ilchester.

I am,

Sir,

Your most faithfull most obliged Servant,

HEN. HARRIS.

Chelsea College. July 23, 1748.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

Dresden. y^e 8th Dec^{ber} N.S. 1748.

MY DEAR FOX.

Since a word, that dropd from me in my last, has raisd your curiosity so very high that you orderd me to answer you immediately, and to explain what I mean by saying that the Peace is owing to some Scruples of Conscience of the K. of F., I will obey you to the best of my power, and tell you how and why I think the peace was made.¹

There is no doubt but that the misery in the Country of France was very great, by their Maritime towns being almost ruind, trade at a full stop, and the price of Corn so dear that it was next door to a famine. Add to this, that the whole naval strength of France was destroy'd. All this you'll say was not much regarded at Versailles, where nothing was seen but triumphs & Profusion. But when it became the buisness of those who were near the King to make use of these Weapons, when every man at Court was a known Enemy to the Glory M. Saxe and Lewendhall had gaind, where they were envyd for being Victorious and hated for being foreigners; and the first as a Protestant cemented the whole Body of the Church against him, and the Latter as a Plunderer (the greatest that ever was) gave arms to his Enemys against both the Marshalls, since every body said that what Lewendhall did was by Saxe's permission. This being the case, I say, There was an Union at Versailles of Churchmen, Women, Favourites, and Princes of the Blood against The Warr, that is, against the Two Strangers. The State of The interiour of France was perpetually buzz'd in the R. ear. He heard of nothing but Bankrupcys, Captures, and Famine; notwithstanding which He was firm in his good opinion of those who certainly had but too well servd him. At last all these persuaded his Confessour to shew him that the great object that began this war was no longer in question. That the Queen of Hungary's Husband was become Emperour, and that it was impossible to reduce the House of Austria lower than she was by force of Arms. That H. M. had already sacrific'd the lives of above two hundred thousand of his Christian Subjects; That He was responsible for every drop that was shed in the present chimerical System, and that He [would] one day answer for it to the King of Kings. That if the Establishment for the Infant was all that He was

¹ The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally concluded in October 1748.

fighting for, there was no necessity of shedding more Xtian Blood to obtain that end ; since it was no longer to be doubted but that point might be obtained by treaty. That his Glory was at the highest pitch, and could not be encreas'd by the Greatest Conquests that His Arms could make. That H. M. could therefore not do a work more agreeable to God, than to turn his ears from those who delighted in and gain'd by Warr to hearken to the crys of his own undone and perishing subjects ; and that, in short, after having made Europe tremble by the War He had made, He could never end it more gloriously than by giving peace to the world, and quiet trade and riches to His own Subjects.

Dont imagine this is Invention. Tis what I have collected from Different People, who pretend to be well informd, and till I hear better reasons I shall stick to these.

In short, Court Cabals at Versailles made the Peace of Aix ; as Court Cabals at St James's made the Peace of Utrecht. Mons^r. De Noailles made use of a Priest, as Lord Oxford did of a Bedchamber Woman.

There was indeed one man who, I believe, did not joyn in any Intrigues against M. Saxe, I mean Mons^r. de Puissieux. But after He found by some Things that the K. dropt to him, that it would be agreeable to His M., provided a settlement could be gaind for Don Phillip, to have a Peace, he then went in with the rest of the Court, and facilitated the means to the utmost of his power. M. Saxe was certainly unacquainted with the sending the powers for signing the Preliminaries, and was surprizd and heartily vexd when He heard of it. M. Lewendhall was outrageous, and you will soon see the First of these living in retirement at Chambord or at Dresden. But the Second, I hear, wont fare so well. They will both be soon here. They are already treated with indecency by the Good French Courtiers, who call them *Sarmates*, Qui ont terni la gloire des armes de La France par leur Cruautés, pillages, & contributions excessives. Tis very certain, that during the War These Gentlemen kept no measures with The Ministers, particularly D'Argenson. A Person applying to M. Saxe last year for a Court favour, receivd the following answer at his publick Levee (tho He was a man of distinguishd merit, and a sort of a Favourite of the M.). "Monsieur quand vous voudriez un occasion pour vous faire casser bras et Jambes pour le Service du Roy Votre Maitre, Adressez vous à moi. Ou quand vous voudriez un promotion dans l'armée pour récompense de vos services, adressez vous à moi. Mais quand vous demandez quelque grace de la Cour,

ne vous adressez vous jamais à moi, car je suis broulié avec toutes les Ministres."

Indeed He has in twenty other instances that I know treated them very Cavalierly. But tis now their turn, and they will scorn to be in his debt.

I could tell you many storys which are facts, to induce you to believe all I say of the K. of F. The Dauphin is much more extraordinary in his kind. When we meet, you shall have your belly full of Anecdotes of this sort. You know my inquisitive temper, and the alliances between the Courts of Versailles and Dresden furnish me with fresh ones at least once a week. However you have had what you desir'd. I verily believe myself that the Confessour's speech had the desired effect upon the K., because I know That as that Monarch sins in one way very much, so there is nothing that His Priests bid him do by way of repentance that He is not strictly rigid in performing; and that there is hardly a week that there is not a Courier dispatch'd to Rome for some dispensation or other. But of this and many, many other things when we meet: which in the nature of things cant be long. First, for with all my neglect of money I never did, nor ever will cheat any mortal of one farthing, and much less the Government. I therefore shall be oblig'd to ask leave for my returning home some time next summer, and I will at that time pay my ballance to a farthing into the Exchequer. . . .

Adieu, my Dearest, Best, & only Friend. My constant Respects & Services wait on Lady Caroline & Ste. I am, & ever will be

Yours unalterably,

C.H.W.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

Dresden, y^e 16th April. N.S. 1749.

DEAR FOX.

I have your letter of the 1st Inst. N.S., in which I receive the agreeable news of my being appointed Plenipotentiary; and of His Majesty's having intimated his design of sending me with the same character to the Court of Berlin, which I readily accept of, and humbly offer my poor services to His Majesty to be employd as He shall judge proper. All my own inclinations subside the instant I guess at the King's pleasure; and my life would not be of a piece, if I did not eagerly embrace every occasion of obeying the

commands of such a Master. I have hitherto never err'd in thought, much less in word or deed, towards His Majesty; and I am not one of them that are given to change.

But now, my Dear Friend, I must tell you some of the consequences that will attend my going to Berlin. I know that Court well, having employ'd every method I could think of to gain all manner of information about it. I know I shall have a Jealous and suspicious Prince¹ to deal with; who can't bear to have his own actions pry'd into, while at the same time he leaves no stone unturn'd, nor any means (good or bad) unemploy'd, to penetrate into those of other people; and particularly of the Foreign Ministers residing at his Court, whom He looks upon as Spys of the most dangerous sort, and treats them as such to the utmost of his Power. He does not reside in his Capital, but shuts himself up at Potsdam, to avoid curious eyes. Intelligence therefore at this Court is hard to come at; and all the Publick news there is generally false, because tis given out to cover some design. The King consults his Ministers very little, if at all; and keeps them at a great distance. The people He lives with are such as you would not admit to your table: French Poets and French Prose writers, whose works nobody would read in their own country, pass at Berlin for men of Genius. These compose His Prussian Majesty's Academie des Sciences, and these are his constant companions in his unbended hours. With such wretches as these, you may be sure His Prussian Majesty, cautious as He is, does not hazard to talk any thing above their own nonsense, and by this method, as he never says any thing material, so nothing that He does say is ever reported.

I have the happiness to be look'd upon in Germany as a good Austrian; my own Principles, as well as the Times, led me to endeavour to cultivate and establish that Character here, and tis under that denomination that I must enter Berlin. I now leave you to guess what my reception will be; but that is very indifferent to me.

Unfortunately, also, for me, I believe at this instant I have the honour of being as ill with His Prussian Majesty as any Minister in Europe. For I am oblig'd to run round this town all day long, to contradict the bold assertions or rather inventions, which the Prussian Minister by order disperses at Dresden. I do this very flatly, shewing the absurdity and impossibility of such things in the strongest colours that I can paint. This has gone so far, that I find I am not a person that the King of Prussia wishes

¹ Frederick the Great.

his adherents should keep company with; for his Minister, a few days ago, reproach'd the Present Ambassadour for living with me so much as He does.

Another disagreeable thing is that the King of Prussia is now and then apt (especially when he thinks he has a bon mot to produce) to affront a Foreign Minister, in a manner that generally reflects obliquely upon his Court. Now it will be impossible for me, in case He should say any thing that I thought carried the least disrespect to my Royal Master, not to reply with all the force that my little Wit would afford me. Count Keyserling, the Russian Minister, who speaks French very ill and consequently very seldom, made his Majesty of Prussia a good reply about four months ago. That King said in Keyserling's presence, that Keyserling never talks French, to shew his contempt of France; to which Keyserling answerd, "Sir, I don't talk Portuguese, yet I am far from despising Portugal; and tho your Majesty never speaks the Russian language, yet I am far from believing that your Majesty despises Muscovy."

But what I most fear is misrepresentations of my Conduct from that Court, and in this I must beg your interest and credit with our Ministers, nay with His Majesty himself, in case He should ever mention my insignificant name to you, that I may be made acquainted with whatever is alleg'd against me By that Court, and that no misrepresentation may hurt me; but that I may have permission to say what I can in my own defence. Depend upon it, my worthy Friend, my conduct there shall be irreproachable. All my words and actions shall be well guarded, and every step I take shall be measur'd. I will follow orders and instructions closely; I will serve with diligence and fidelity; and exert my utmost abilities to render myself worthy of that station in which it has pleas'd the King himself to place me. His approbation is my Ambition.

Adieu, my Dear Fox, and believe me
most unalterably

& affectionately yours,

C. H. W.

MR. HARRIS TO MR. FOX.

DEAR SIR.

S^r Charles Williams alighted yesterday at my Door about one at Noon. He embarked at Helvoet last Saturday, 2^d Sep^r, in the afternoon; and by very hard weather and a violent gale, They found themselves in about 12

Hours upon the Suffolk or Norfolk Coast next morning. They landed at Leostoft, and S^r Charles immediately made the best way to Mistley.¹ No Mr. Rigby, no Mr. Harris there. Reposed Himself at the Mansion one Day. Had Rigby's Coach to Colchester, and then Hired and sett to Town. A Post chaise will not do for a Foreign Minister of any Bulk and all the Lumber that must be about Him. Nothing, according to the Etiquette, could be done till He had waited upon the D. of Newcastle: The Duke appointed Him for 9 this morning at Newcastle House; from thence, I suppose, He will wait upon the King at Kensington, and Pour out to Him (if He can get a right opportunity) all the Arcana of the whole German system. If the King should have Time and curiosity enough to unlock Him all through, He will Find stories, Characters, Ideas, and Furniture, extremely agreeable to His own particular Taste and Humours. Allowing therefore our Friend a fair field, I should think it no difficult thing to persuade H. M. that S^r C. is much the fittest Person to be sent to Vienna: not but that S^r C. is very willing, and prepared to take the odd Duty, and to make a Riot at Berlin.

S^r Charles is very well, in good spirits, retains his old agreeable turn, and among Those who are inclined to Love and Listen to Him is the best natured, cheerfullest companion I ever knew. All Europe is in his Breast, so there will be Politicks enough for you at Maddington. He has in store for you too much other mirthful History. I will anticipate Him in one.

Never was there a finer, solider pig of Lead exported from England than in Master Anstis, our renowned Garter King at Arms. For Gracious errands between Sovereigns one would Imagine something of Person, of Idea, and of Language might be necessary. Anstis is gloriously destitute of all such Help or Endowments; scarce utters his Mother English. Bethought Himself therefore to carry over a Person to Interpret for Him in French. Now what would you expect from the Ingeniousness of our Wiseacre in a Fool's Coat? Why, most unfortunately it did happen that the Maître de Langue, this French organ and Oracle, is only as Dead-Deaf as Post or Beetle.

When we were last night upon the scheme of S^r C.'s going to Vienna, I reminded Him of the different expence at that Court and at Berlin, from what I had gathered out of S^r T. Robinson. More Parade, more Table, Equipage, &c. S^r C. admits not this Reasoning, and says that all the cost and charge of a Publick character depends wholly upon the particular Temper,

¹ Mr. Rigby's house in Essex, near Manningtree.

and upon the Rule and Manner of a Minister's first setting out at any Court. He seems to be very sure of Himself upon this Article of Oeconomy, but, at the same time, puts me in mind of a vanity very common among the men of amour, who Intrigue charmingly with Persons They never saw, and give Themselves the airs of a sin they never committed. Villiers, on dit, affects an unwillingness, scruples about going to Vienna: cela me surprise. Why is He not Humored? Let Them go, in the name of Goodness, who Like it.

S^r C. will go from Court to Holland House, and if He can settle his Matters and do all his errands here, talks of seeing you by the 10th at Maddington. That I think can't be done, but by His not doing his Business; which too is not the most unlikely case. He is very thankfull for all your Goodness to Commodore Tommy. *I am Glad too.* The two Bears in Monmouthshire would now come up to Town, Humble Themselves, and Lick the Dust of his Feet, but I made Him last night, without embittering Matters, send such a message as will prevent Their leaving their own Dens in the Country. He has told me of the match proposed, and will follow the good advice that has been given about it. I do most certainly Love this man, and, as you will think, know no End of talking about Him. I am obliged by some business of my own, and in mercy to you, to conclude this Letter, before I know what has passed in his audience at Kensington. He, I should imagine, will write to you by this night's post.

We have nothing here worth relation. A quiet time, and an empty Town; two things which I am not Fashionable enough to complain of. 'Tis said that Ld Down, by a Bargain with S^r Miles Stapylton to be Com^r of the Customs, will be chose for the County of York, and then espouse Miss Pelham.

Health, Joy, and Sport attend you. My Respects and Duty to Lady Caroline, and to the whole Family. I am, Dear Sir, most unfeignedly and most Faithfully,

Your most obliged and most obedient Servant,

HEN. HARRIS.

Little Madox Street.

Thursday Noon. 7 Septemb., 1749.

Not one syllable from Rigby, nor does any one know with certainty where He is. He is the Drollest Creature breathing! Hor. Walpole had bad accounts of Him, en fait de Jeu, at Scarborough, and Begged me to fetch Him up if any Letter can find Him.

MR. HARRIS TO MR. FOX.

Little Madox Street. May 15, 1750.

DEAR SIR.

Tho' we have not yet any positive, certain account of your being landed, I may venture still to congratulate you upon your escape from the vilest Inn, in the vilest part of the King's Dominions, and upon your being well and safe, at length, in *Finibus Atticis*.¹

What a sad Figure would S^r Charles have made with the Threatened ode? He might have Invoked and Invoked again the Queen of Cyprus, and sweet Helen's two sturdy Brothers, and the Gaoler of the winds, who surlily locked up all his Boys, *praeter Iapyga*.

By your orders I was to set out with telling you how the Election for Westminster was decided, and have often thought since, that you might as well as Dated me to the commencement of the Millenium: so slow and so nice in his equity was Mr. High Bailif. But this morning He made his Declaration in favour of Ld Trentham, to the great joy of all worthy quiet minds, and to the plain disappointment of S^r Jn^o. Hynde Cotton, Cooke, Ld Carpenter, and all *unbiassed* Glaziers and Tallow-Chandlers. I was damnably afraid of a double Return, which must have flung us all into a Flame again and have given you a Task next winter, which is now very luckily avoided. Every mail brings over strange accounts of the bad spirit on your side of the water, and of the *mauvaise odeur* which Ld H——² has left there. We have now no further occasion for S^r Geo. Vandeput; and for the sake of calming all Heats and differences, we are now ready to make a Present of Him to the faithfull, good people in Ireland, that They may make what Fool, Tool, or Patriot They please of Him there!

Had I a good memory, or was I a true man of the Town, there's scandal enough stirring to make up a very lively Letter. But to me, in my private, incurious way of Living, what signifie Ld and Lady M. Coke, with all their Cat and Dog History. *Felices ter, et amplius! quos Rupta liberat copula*. Much with the same Phlegm, do I treat this new Gomorrah Scene, in which poor Neddy Walpole has been so finely Introduced at Hick's Hall. The

¹ The Foxs had gone to Ireland on a visit to Lady Caroline's brother-in-law and sister, Lord and Lady Kildare.

² Lord Harrington, recently Lord-lieutenant.

Family is in confusion, He almost Distracted, and be the accusation true or false, there must be some gross mismanagement either in the Love or the Law-suit.

Was not you vastly astonished at the rich cargo, with which S^r Charles came freighted to your last Dinner, the parting Dinner at Mr. Pelham's? Only think of a Poet, at a *prime* minister's table, with a copy of verses (the inscription for Winnington's monument, *Helas!*) in one pocket, and six thousand Sterlin Pounds in the other. No common passage, believe me; I could scarce trust my own eyes. But so it was, paid all into Jn^o. Selwyn's hands, or into the office for pursuing the account. Nay more. Most of the dribbling Debts in London cleared, and that faithfull auditor, Mr. Dick, pushing on directly for Dresden with 1300 hard Guineas in a strong Box, to satisfie all demands there and to redeem our Plate, Horses, and Furniture. S^r W^m Yonge's son goes on to Leipsick, and S^r Charles has promised to watch most carefully over his studies at that University: between the large promises of our Friend and the vanity of the other red Ribbon, the young man is already, ipso facto, declared Secretary of State: so that poor Digby has no chance, and must content Himself with being only President of the Council. They all set out for Harwich on Wednesday, the 2^d inst, lay at Rigby's the 3^d and 4th, and sailed for Holland on Saturday the 5th, which, I fancy, was the very Day of your Deliverance from all Perils of the Itch. Poor Rigby is come back with a real, hellish Boil on his —, smote indeed with Job's distemper, but not quite endowed with his Patience. His only Comfort now is to behold a happy Increase in his R. H.'s Family, by the Birth of a Prince last Sunday, because we are both agreed in this one demonstrable Truth, that every addition of that kind tends to the Diminution of all the Publick Debts and Burthen.

All Things go on just as they used to do. The Women as virtuous, the men as able, as Honest, and the whole system of morals and good Government as steadily pursued as formerly. You, I beg your Pardon, Sir, but as you are now there, I can't avoid saying you have lately sent us over two most Transcendent Nymphs, the Misses Gunning; all English Beauty withers before them. Ten of our top Toasts fell into Fitts upon their first appearance at Ranelagh; and such is the present Fureur, that if they happen to be at Vaux Hall, the whole Round House at Chelsea immediately embarks; and the poor Cripples, who do not love taking the water, lye upon the shore, all gasping with priapisms. My foolish, random Imagination now has put totally

out of my Head the several occurrences which I had, for the last ten days, most carefully treasured up for you,—but πάντα κόνις, καὶ πάντα το μῆδεν.

Ld Downe is return'd from his unopposed election in Yorkshire, and instead of sighing at the Ladies' feet in Arlington Street, sets out instantly for Paris, and hopes to preserve firm Peace and amity between the two Nations by running his Hands immediately up the Coats of Madame de Pompadour: alert and assuré, like any Frenchman, but without the Language.

When Ld Montfort was first presented to the King at Versailles, this compliment was paid Him by his most Xtian Majesty. "En vérité ce milord anglois ne laisse pas d'être assez bien Nourri."

Ld and Lady Bath are quite charmed with Things in France, omnes conradunt nummos for the French actions. With all my Heart let them abjure the Protestant Religion and the Bradford estate, and They have my fair leave to live under any Government They like.

That *worthy, good* man Brigadier Jeffries dyed this morning, and has left £18000 to his late Pupil in war, Dick Lyttelton. O! I am sick at the sun's sight!

When the High Bailif this morning Returned Ld Trentham, He declared that He had a majority of 170; and upon making the Return, He told S^r Geo. Vandeput and his good Friends, who were present, that if They were dissatisfy'd with the Declaration, if They would send Him their copy of the Poll, he would mark upon their copy every vote which He had rejected; and if, after that, They thought He had rejected any Legal vote, if they would send Him these Names, He would send Them a state of the evidence upon which He had rejected such votes. What damn'd expence, what Hubbub for nothing!

Forgive my Nonsense. The Bell is importunate. Respects to Lady Caroline; is She well? Do, let me have the pleasure of Hearing from you.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull obedient Servant,

HEN. HARRIS.

MR. H. DIGBY¹ TO MR. FOX.Warsaw. Tuesday. y^e 18 August, 1750.

MY DEAR UNCLE.

We arrived here last Fryday was seven night, after having travelled five Days and six Nights without stopping once, except to change Horses between Berlin and this Place. When we came here I must own I was very much tired. But S^r Charles was not in the least affected with his Journey. He went out to Dinner that Day, and staid out till twelve o'clock at Night, and from that time to this he has been so busy that he has hardly had time to sleep. He really works as hard for his master as it is possible, for from six o'clock in the morning till twelve at Night he has not had a minute to Himself. He desired I would write to you, to let you know that he intends it as soon as he has Time, which he hardly will have till he arrives at Berlin, but I believe that will be pretty soon.

I like the Poles vastly; I never saw any People more polite in my Life. S^r Charles has been very much amongst them, and likes them vastly, and I dont doubt but he will send you an account of all he has seen here. The Grandeur and Pomp of the Nobility is indeed very great. They none of them go out without six Horses in their Coach, and never faster than His Majesty does when he goes to the House of Lords, and some of them have near as many Attendants as he has. I have not been in many of their Houses, but they look to be very large. His Polish Mäty's Drawing Room is much more crowded than ever I saw any Rooms before. At the Palace Door there was between two and three Hundred Coaches and six Horses, and I should imagine if they were counted there could not be less than five hundred Horsemen.

The Activity of the Diet was stopped the Day we arrived here, for which I was very sorry, for I should have liked to have seen it very much; but tho they could not proceed upon any Business, they sat till the Term of their Session expired, which was yesterday. On Monday next the Senatus Consilium

¹ Henry Digby (1731-1793), nephew of Henry Fox, afterwards seventh Baron and first Earl Digby. He was secretary to Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, who by King George's orders was forced to take the long dreaded journey to Poland, though at the time Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin.

begins, and lasts eight Days, but we shall not stay to see the Conclusion of it, for S^r Charles at present intends leaving this Place this Day seven night.

I am very sorry that we left Neddy¹ behind us at Berlin, Because I think he would have liked this place. But as he writ to you but just before we left Berlin, I shall say Nothing about him.

There was a Tartar envoy had his Audience de Congé last Week. The Regiment of Foot Guards was drawn up before the Palace, in a Line on each side the Court, and he came upon horseback with a good many Attendants. After I had seen him come up to the Palace Door, I went into the Chamber of Audience where his Majesty was seated in a great Chair under a Canope, all the Great officers standing round Him. The Primate sat in a chair on His Majesty's right Hand, and the Bishops were the first upon the Benches, and next to them all the Nobles according to their Rank sat round upon Benches covered with red Cloth. When the Tartar came in, he walked in the middle of the Room, & they laid a large red Damask Cushion for him upon which he sat and spoke, but what he said I cannot possibly tell you, for I understood his Interpreter as little as I did him. When he had done speaking he walked up to the King, who delivered him a Letter for His master, after which he went away.

We have kept as constant a Journal, and as exact a one as the Records of Maddington,² ever since our Arrival at Berlin, which I promised to let my Lord Ilchester see when I come to England if he begged very hard for it.

I beg when you see the great Mr. Sportly you would tell him that I am afraid he has had a great deal of Business during your stay in Ireland, for we have seen very little of his writing since we left England. I received a Letter from Mr. Harris just before I left Berlin, which I am ashamed I have not as yet answered, but I will very soon, tho I do not understand it nor cannot in the least guess at what he means.

S^r Charles, who desires his humble service to you and Lady Caroline, has been writing all this morning, and is but just gone out to dine with C^t Braniski, who is Palatin of Cracow and litle General of the Crown of Poland.

Pray give my Duty to Lady Caroline and Love to Ste, and if this Letter

¹ Edward Digby, the writer's elder brother, who succeeded his grandfather as sixth Baron Digby. He died in 1757.

² Lord Ilchester's shooting box on Salisbury Plain. The Records are still preserved at Melbury.

should find you at Maddington, as I think it possibly may, I must beg my Duty to my Lord Ilchester.

I am,

Dear Mr. Fox,

Y^r most dutyfull Nephew,

H. DIGBY.

P.S. I have dined twice at the little Marshall's, twice since I have been here, and I think His House and His Table as elegant as I have seen anywhere. Since my finishing this Letter Sr Charles is come home, and says he hopes you will think this a great deal better than I could write when I left England, but not near so well as I shall write three months hence.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

Berlin. Wednesday y^e 23rd Sept., 1750.

MY DEAR FOX.

Since I cant as yet inform you much about this Court, I will try to divert you with it. The King of Prussia keeps, and pays them very well, about as many wits as the King of Poland does Buffoons. But as some of His Polish Majesty's Buffoons are Wits, so most of His Prussian Majesty's Wits are Buffoons. Voltaire is here in high glory. He has resign'd all His Employments in France, and the King of Prussia has made him one of his Chamberlains, has given him the Order of Merit, Five thousand Dollars pr ann. Pension for life, and after his death two thousand of them to revert to a Niece that He has for her life. He has just wrote a Tragedy, call'd *Rome Sauvée*, founded on the story of Catiline's Conspiracy. He has given it me to read. I dont like the whole; but there is one scene in it between Caesar and Catiline that is delightfull. Both Characters unmask themselves, and are well drawn. But the Catastrophe is intollerable, and contradicts all History; for Tully gives the command of the army against Catiline to Caesar, who goes off the stage to take the command, and comes back in five minutes to tell the Senate that He has overcome Catiline. Since my reading this Play I have seen it acted and the Part of Tully perform'd by Voltaire. He acts with great spirit. But the rest of the actors were design'd by Nature to have nothing to do upon the stage, but to snuff the Candles. The Wits residing at and adorning the Court of Berlin at Present are, Voltaire, Maupertuis,

Algarotti (in disgrace), D'Argens (author of *Lettres Juifs*) D'Arget, La Metrye, D'Arnaud, and that great Traveller, Pollnitz. These His Prussian Majesty calls *Les Hussars de sa Table*, where He says they quarrel, attack, and call names, but nothing more. The true Reason of Voltaire's being in such great favour, and so well paid at present, is, that the King of Prussia having Printed a Pompous Edition of his own Works in three Voll. in Quarto, Is going to do by them as He did by his *Anti Machiavel*, and to submit them to Voltaire's correction. Voltaire, who is vainer than any other Frenchman, cant help bragging of this, and as I was sitting with him the other morning, He shewd me the Books corrected, and in some places totally alter'd by his own hand. He added that tho He woud employ all his pains about them, yet He wish'd with all His heart they were thrown into the Fire. I am trying every way to get at these books, but as yet I have no great hopes of success. . . .

I am, ever Entirely yours,
C. H. W.

MR. EDWARD DIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Hanover. October 10, 1750.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I had last night the honour of supping with his Majesty,¹ who seems to be in as perfect health as ever I saw any man in my life. His Majesty eat a very hearty supper, and did me the honour to ask me three questions:—1st, how long I had been at Berlin; 2nd, if I had seen the King of Prussia; and 3rd, whether I had ever been at Potzdam to see him. To all these you may guess my answers as well as if you had been there.

A great part of the young nobility of England are at this place. His Grace the Duke of Richmond,² Ld Malton, Ld Downe, Mr. Watson, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Shelly, and some others. We generally all dine and supp at the Duke of Newcastle's, when we are not invited at Court or at some of the Ministers, and in the evening go to Court where every body plays at Whist. I have sometimes stay'd to make up the D^{ss} of Newcastle's party, who I must say, as well the Duke, has been extremely civil to me.

¹ King George, who was taking his usual autumn holiday in his dominions on the Continent. The Duke of Newcastle had again accompanied him as Minister-in-Attendance.

² Charles, third Duke of Richmond (1735-1806), whose father had died a few months before. He had been sent abroad to complete his education.

I think L^{dy} Yarmouth is particularly civil to me, which I take to be on your account; she has inquir'd much after you and my Mother.

There are several pretty women here, and I think the men here are as much or more like gentlemen than any part of Germany I have been in.

I was so lucky as to be in the house where the D. of Richmond first landed, and so immediately went to him as soon as he got out of his coach. I believe he was very glad to see me as an old acquaintance in a strange place, but you know his Grace is not long a making acquaintance. He has not lost one bit of his amorous disposition I can assure you; for the first night he came, he found out the prettiest woman in the place, and has follow'd her about making violent love to her ever since. He will make fine work among the Ladys upon the continent, who, I think, wherever I have been, are free in distributing their favours, at least more publickly so than those of our Island.

The D. of Richmond has din'd and supp'd with the King, and I believe supps with his M^{ty} again to-night. He writes to you to-night, and will tell you about his going away. He is a charming, fine boy, I think; grown very tall and handsome since I saw him. Mons^r. Tremblé, who is with him, tells me he sees with pleasure that nobody has so much weight with the Duke as you have, and that he minds you more than all the rest of his relations put together.

I send you inclos'd a copy of my letter to Ld Digby, which is to satisfy him about my staying at Berlin two or three months longer. I fancy if you would second it with a word or two, it might have a good effect.

S^r Charles Williams, notwithstanding the frowns of his Prussian Majesty, keeps up his dignity very well, and I think all the evil that will happen to S^r Charles from the K. of Prussia's dislike will be his not speaking to him at his levy, which is about once a month. I am firmly persuaded that the K. of Prussia will never venture to say any shocking thing to him, which is what he is too apt to do to those he dislikes, because I know he has great notion of S^r Charles's quickness, and would be afraid of a reply.

The two Queens' Courts are almost the only places we can go to for company at Berlin: for the few people who do keep tollerable Houses there are so overaw'd by their sovereign, that they dare not be civil to us. Of this I will give you one instance, which I think a strong one. C^{te} Kamphen is the richest man at Berlin; he has been always very polite to S^r Charles and me, whenever we met him at Court or any where else. When Ld Malton and some other English gentlemen came to Berlin, whilst S^r Charles was in

Poland, I presented them all to this Mons^r. Kamphen, who invited them all to dinner the next day and left me out; and I was told the next day by one of his friends that he had been spoke to by the King about entertaining the foreign Ministers and those who belong to them.

Since they are so very circumspect, I think we have not much society to expect, nor are we very solicitous about it. The Ladys I find are far from being the most rigidly virtuous in the world, and some of them reckon very much upon the parties fines which S^r Charles has promis'd them at his house in the winter. I think he is fix'd, and I believe I may be so when I please: so that if I can but get sound (which dining and supping with the D. of Newcastle is not the way to do), we shall have as agreeable partys of that sort as possible. Harry,¹ I am afraid, notwithstanding all the pains I take and all the good advice I give him, will not be persuaded to partake of those diversions. For there is a woman at Berlin that he has a mind to ly with and that it is very proper he should, for he might have her in the house whenever he would without suspicion; she would not cost him a farthing, and we know would not resist a quarter of an hour; and he is afraid to ask her, tho he has opportunitys enough. I invited her to dinner one day when S^r Charles was out, and after dinner took the husband away, leaving Harry alone with her upon a couch for above an hour, and he says he talk'd about necklaces and ear-rings all the time.

The Queens' Courts are, as I said before, the only publick places we have to go to, and there the Maids of Honour are the principal company; those of the Queen Mother's Court are for the Princes, as you see by S^r Charles's letter to Harris, and those at the other Court have such a vast desire of being marry'd, that I believe it will be very difficult to have them upon reasonable terms, but I am convinc'd there is no male animal in the world they would not marry. She that I make love to, S^r Charles Williams says has a face like a Colly flower, and I think she has.

I hope the D. of Marlborough continues to shew you S^r Charles's dispatches, and then you will see what we are doing in the Political way. I think the chief good S^r Charles has done yet, has been the discovering the farce of the Tartar Envoy, which the King of Prussia never will forgive him; and taking down the Saxon Minister, who allways had impos'd upon and govern'd the other Ministers of our allys, and would still do so if S^r Charles did not keep him in order, which he does most effectually.

¹ Henry Digby, his brother.

The D. of Newcastle has never once taken notice of the little commission with which S^r Charles charg'd me when he went to Poland, but I have the satisfaction of hearing from Mr. Stone and Mr. Amyand that my letters were approv'd of.

I brought from Berlin the chests of Dantzic Cherry-Brandy which I undertook to send you. I have given them to the care of Mr. Stone, who promises to send them with the D. of Newcastle's baggage, and deliver them to you in London.

Harry has been guilty of a very unministerial trick since I left Berlin, for he sent me a letter which began, "Dear Mother," and directed mine to Mrs. Digby, which if it had not come under my cover would have gone to her with a Postscript by S^r Charles Williams, which was not so proper for her to read.

I wish you would write Harry a letter persuading him of the necessity of cleaning his teeth, turning out his toes, walking upright, buttoning his wastecoa^t, and endeavouring to look like a gentleman; for these are things he seems to have no notion of. Dick Evans is extremely angry at him for having no lust.

I beg your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter, but I thought you would be glad to hear a little of the ways of Berlin, and I cannot write from thence with so much freedom, for they say the curiosity of his Prussian Majesty is prodigious. Adieu,

I am,

your very affectionate nephew,

E. DIGBY.

Ld Downe, who is just come from Paris, confirms me in the opinion I have allways had of the impossibility of getting into good company there. I set out for Berlin Tuesday.

MR. H. HARRIS TO MR. FOX.

DEAR SIR.

"Tell me every thing that happens." Omne quod est usquam—upon my word a very easy and reasonable Task! Not the Hundred Tongues of Time nor the wings of Mercury are sufficient to such boundless operation. To me too, an old, rotten, Inert piece of matter or dried mummy, taking wise refuge, as the wise Ld Bolingbroke directs, in my own chimney corner. Under all these disadvantages I must obey, and squeeze out the Dregs and Droppings of my scanty Intelligence.

Saturday was a devilish dull day at Court. Nothing done. The Secretary at War¹ going out of town. All the expecting cockades damped and damned to another Fortnight's delightfull suspense. Not seven Persons in the circle, and but one word uttered by the K—, about Russia, to Ld Hyndford. The Pay master Genl² not spoke to, scarce looked at, upon this *thin* occasion! But the next day Things went with much better Humour. That spitefull, fictitious card from Bedford House to Miss Gunnings has put Them into a new Blaze of character. The K— hearing how handsomly the Dutchess of Bedford had behaved upon that piece of Impertinence done both to Her Grace and to the poor Girls, desired Lady Fawkener to bring Them to Court. They went; They looked; They conquered! Afterwards to Carleton House. And thus this curious Bit of Female Envy has brought Them within the ogle and good Graces of the whole Royal Family, et Decus addidit Pulchritudini.

I must now take your Questions "at peep of day" in their order. I can say nothing with certainty about Ld Mansel's affairs or Hoards. The world called Him Rich and very covetous, and from his look and manner, I ever thought Him peevish and misantrophe to the greatest Degree. £120,000 comes, the publick Prints say, to his Daughter. I should suppose Him only Tenant for Life in the Mansel, as well as in the Stradlin Estate,—but great Heaps surely must remain from so much private Misère and avarice; tho' I am told this moment by a Person (who most shrewdly knows the difference between real and nominal substance) that Ld Mansel, within these 2 or 3 years, was a Borrower; and this Deponent further says that He knows Himself of £500 taken up with Difficulty.

In my opinion no great Political sagacity is required to Decypher the different Persons meant in last Saturday's *Remembrancer*.³ The marks are pretty plain and obvious. You want me, I fancy, to make some broad, absurd guess from my total ignorance of the whole Haberdashery of Court wares and administration Tools. "The late Ferment: the Dismission of some *Splendid Insignificants*: The bustling Minister, that sort of Sea-Satyr which delights in storms: Mr. *Take and Hold*, who is to Nod in that *Chair*, where His Grace so long has Nodded, Cabinet, every avenue to Power, shut agst Him." All, all as plain as Granville can be writ. "The *negotiator* and the *notables* of his Party: the *unambitious and undesigning Temper*, with that *inflexible Fidelity*," need no comment, no more than the "*Alarms* given lately to

¹ Fox.² Pitt.³ A weekly paper by G. Cadwallader, first published in 1748.

the *Brotherhood*." *The fore Front of the Phalanx, who are to be ill-used & rendered Odious, speaks itself by the Power, & vast command they have with regard to favours, etc. The personal Piquancies of a certain undaunted orator, personally odious to his —, yet forced upon Him by the Brotherhood, under the terror of an immediate Resignation; and lastly, the Ground now crumbling under the Feet of Him who was Foremost in that Resignation, are, even to my poor apprehension, as manifest, as strongly Indexed, as the House near the new Building at Whitehall, or that next to the Gate in the Stable Yard at St. James's. Thus I am got the Forwarder; and have been fairly helped to a good stout Paragraph, by being made the cunning Oedipus of unknotty points, and by your calling upon me to Resolve such undubious Ænigmas.*

Last Sunday was Dilettanti. The Duke of Bedford, Ld Sandwich, and other great Personages present. Ld Anson was Balloted for, and unanimously chosen a member. I wont steal an old joke and Talk of shewing him more of the world than He saw in the Circumnavigating it: but we shall, I fancy, make Him Drink and subscribe very liberally, which will be two quite new and surprising Discoveries in his L^dship's character. Never was man more gay, more active, and assiduous than the D. of Bedford. In the absence of Coll Gray, our Established Secretary, The Duke ravished the Pen, and Standish marked the names and Forfeitures; took the minutes, and was so delightedly eager in doing all the Secretary's Business, that I could not Help looking upon it but as a sure and certain omen of His continuing in his present Publick station, and of his not parting with the Seals quite as easily as one does with a Pinch of Snuff.

I did not care to put it in my answers and general observation upon the *Remembrancer*, but I can't stir one Line further, till I, in my turn, propose a question to you, about a certain Passage in the same Paper. Who can be meant where it is said, "That confederacy strengthened with the countenance of yet *Another* man of Business (who has manifestly Trimmed between the two Factions, and who consequently waits for nothing but such an opportunity to declare agst the Brotherhood)?" Can you guess at this Person? It runs strangely in my Head that He is the Person in the world to whom I wish most Honour, and that He has a charming Villa, where the standing motto is *Ditior est Qui Se*.¹

After the several exercises and evolutions, which our Friend Rigby has

¹ The motto of the Rich family, the former possessors of Holland House, of which Fox had taken a lease in 1746.

performed, nothing can appear more extraordinary than his going now regularly to H.R.H. the Duke's Levée. Cui Bono? Had this been done, had He taken to arms at the Breaking out of the war, He had either been nobly laid in the Bed, or very High by this time in the Post of Honour.

After I was engaged, Soul and Body, for your appearing and concurring with the matrimonial measure at the Chelsea Board, Sr. Rob^t Rich,¹ I find, was slyly sapping the whole Foundation. He looks upon this change of Apartments as totally subversive of all order and right Disposition, when God knows, He Himself has seen in the college a thousand such alterations, by mere dint of Favour or for the sake of particular, proper convenience. "But the King shall know it," and His Majesty shall be the Judge how every Garret and Coal-Hole is allotted throughout the Hospital. The whole thing, on both sides, is excessively Ridiculous. Hymen, O Hymenæ! Hymen ades, O Hymenæ! Such a match! But more of that to your private ear and Leisure. My good offices were asked, that consummatum est might be merrily rung in the late adjutant's Rooms. I am glad your consent was to it, and, si sic visum erit superis, merry be the Ringers!

There has been the Devil to Pay at Cambridge, in spite of that new Codex of Regulations and Discipline, which the Publick Orator is bringing up with most pompous *Flummery* to the D. of New—. A Club, you must know, was erected of Unstudious, disorderly, Independent Westminster; Queen Elizabeth's Birthday commemorated in much wine and Folly; The Proctors insulted; A hearing before the Vice-chancellor and Senate; A Fellow of Trinity Hall degraded; The Greek Professor and Fellow of Trinity College formally Reprimanded; and all the young Under-graduate members severely Admonished. But upon this most solemn occasion, Tremendous, (one would think) to young Gownsmen, the Rev^d Audience was suddenly and surprisingly saluted by a large Band or circumstans corona—of cat-calls. The Senate trembled, the Vice-chancellor fell into Fits, and Alma Mater was very near giving up the Ghost at the sound and appearance of such a hideous, Libertin Instrument within those walls,—intra illud venerandum Limen!

Mrs. Pritchard played Zara in the *Mourning Bride* last night astonishdly well, to a degree of quite eclipsing Garrick in the part of Osmyn. It took vastly. I don't like the Play, strange, improbable, unnatural Fustian! Most part of it a copy from Dryden, in his bad Taste. Some fine Lines in it.

¹ Field-Marshal Sir Robert Rich (1685-1768). Appointed Governor of Chelsea Hospital in 1750.

Is not Ingram an odd Dog? He mumbles something about seising a Great Man's Coach and Horses. That matter must be looked to.

Is there anything more for your Honour's Service? My Saturday's Dispatch will not be much Bigger, I believe, than a Letter from Lacedæmon. Do me so much Justice as to assure Ld and Lady Ilchester of my particular Respects and Duty. I most heartily wish you good Sport, and all that Health and Happiness, which the Great, with good minds, from the Care and Justice of Providence have the truest claim and Pretension to . . . I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull and most obliged Servant,

HEN. HARRIS.

Little Madox Street. 4 Decemb^r, 1750.

Admiral Knowles's Bride, the Inn-keeper's little fair Daughter at Spaw, was presented at Court also last Sunday. The good old Monarch expressed much lively sensation at the sight of these Beauties. He even coquetted with the Gunnings. May the scepter of youth, as well as of Government, not depart from Him in my Time.

Nothing new in this evening's Postscript, nor in the whole Day's Chronicle.

10 at night.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO MR. FOX.

March 30, 1751.

DEAR SIR.

The conversation I had with you yesterday morning was of too serious and interesting a nature to suffer me to keep it entirely to myself. Nor do I imagine that it was your intention it should remain a secret to the Duke of Bedford, to whom soon after I left you I communicated to the best of my remembrance all that had passed between us.¹ However, as it is very possible

¹ The Duke of Newcastle had long been scheming to get Bedford removed from his Secretaryship of State, his views being too uncompromising to suit his Grace's desire to pull the strings. But it was not till after Frederick Prince of Wales's death that he was able to persuade his brother, the Prime Minister, of the desirability of the change. Fox, foreseeing the certainty of Bedford's ultimate downfall, which he regarded as a blow aimed at his patron Cumberland, took steps to persuade him to resign of his own accord. Sandwich concurred in these endeavours, which were defeated by Bedford's new friend, Rigby.

some particulars may have escaped my memory, it would be conferring still a farther favour on me, if you would trouble yourself to recapitulate the substance of your information and opinion. You may depend upon my making no improper use of anything further [than] you may think fit to say to me upon this occasion, and that it shall be imparted to no person living but the Duke of Bedford, and I believe I may venture to answer for his Grace's secrecy and caution in this or any other business in which you interest yourself with him.

Your being out of town at this juncture is very unfortunate, because matters of so complicated a nature as these now in agitation are never so well transacted by letter. Explanations are often wanted, and points misunderstood, which, if cleared up, would appear in different colours from what they wear at first sight; and besides, as the Duke of Bedford has a great regard for your opinion, and as your personal assistance might in many instances be extremely serviceable to him, your absence is greatly to be lamented. However I hope it will not be so long as you originally intended it should, and in the mean time if anything occurs, or that any fresh incident requires your presence among us, I will make use of the permission you gave me to desire you to come up from the Bath.

I hope it is unnecessary for me to add anything to convince of the truth and esteem with which, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull

& most obedient servant,

SANDWICH.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO MR. FOX.

"Private" March 30, 1751.

DEAR SIR.

The other letter which you will receive from me by this post is wrote at the desire of the Duke of Bedford and has his approbation, but to enable you the better to answer the purpose intended by the sending me your opinion at large (as you was so good as to give me leave to do, if I thought it would be of use), it is necessary to apprize you of all that passed after I left you at His Royal Highness's apartment. When I had had the honour of seeing the Duke, I went from thence to Bedford House, I own with a good deal of uneasiness, because the language it was necessary for me to talk put me

under difficulties which you are well apprized of; and I was undetermined about opening my business, unless I saw a very favourable opportunity. However that favourable opportunity offered itself, and I took advantage of it so far as to tell everything that passed between you and me to the Duke and the Dutchess of Bedford; and, I am certain, with such success, as not to have done myself any prejudice with either of them, but I believe the reverse, which I believe you will think is a very great point gain'd. I was heard attentively in all I had to say, and I am glad to be able to add that I do not see any great averseness in either of the parties to the measure proposed, provided the appearance to the world could be saved, who would not know the secret reasons for this transaction. My informing them that you was very earnest in wishing success to the plan proposed, and that you offered your assistance to carry it into execution, had very great weight; and I am persuaded that if you was present to take this opportunity to shew the Duke of Bedford the solidity of your reasoning, and to talk the matter fully over with him, he would be very easily fixed in the measures you have suggested to him. I am sure the turn he is to take depends absolutely upon the opinion of any of his friends that he consults at this instant; he is still open to conviction either way, and tho' I think I have laid a very good foundation, yet my hands are so closely tied up, and it would be so very imprudent in me to shew too great eagerness to bring this matter to bear, that the success of it is very precarious without I have some assistance besides my own, and, in your absence, I own I am at a loss where it is to be had. In my conversations yesterday I said everything that was proper, but in your name, and as that is now over (as I cannot be supposed to have forgot much of what passed between us), you must see the extreme difficulty I shall have to answer objections that may be made. Your letter will be of infinite service, and may answer all the purposes wished for from it; but still I say the success is precarious, which I think it would not be if you yourself was on the spot.

I must apprise you that, whatever your opinion may be as to future events, it will not be prudent to suppose that if the D. of Bedford and his friends encrease their power hereafter, by the disagreement of the other part of the administration, nothing farther is to be in view than returning to an *equal share* in the management of the King's business. That is a language that will not do in this quarter; but I do not see that it is at all necessary to be brought in question, tho' perhaps the hint to you may not be superfluous.

I have told you, in the beginning of this letter, the principal, and indeed

I think the only material objection, that exists at present; and you will, I dare say, lay as much stress as you can in your reasoning on this part of your argument, but so as on no account to let it be discovered that you have had any information from me but what is contained in the other letter, which I have communicated, as you may imagine, to the Duke of Bedford. If you can solve that difficulty to him, and persuade him that he is more likely to carry any points he may have in view, by this than any other method of proceeding, I am far from despairing of success, unless by some fatality or other he receives impressions in the mean time from some unthinking counsellors, which, circumstanced as I am, it will be impossible for me to remove.

I take for granted it is unnecessary for me to add that this letter is wrote to you, and to you alone. Whatever may happen hereafter, I trust to your honour that this part of our correspondence may never be known to any person living, and if I had not the utmost confidence in you you may easily imagine I could never bring myself to talk so freely to you. However, I shall never be under any uneasiness about it, because I am satisfied that I shall never be deceived in the opinion I have of you, and as for myself I can very sincerely assure you that you will find me to be at all times and in all situations,

Your most faithfull

& most obedient servant,

SANDWICH.

If you have anything to say to me that should not be shewn to another person, pray send it in another letter directed and sealed by some other than yourself.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

Tuesday night.

[March 1754.]

MY DEAR MR. FOX.

Harry Digby has just delivered y^r message to me. My Anxiety about you is equal to my Friendship for you. Pray read over what occurs to me upon your present Situation.¹

¹ Pelham's death on March 6 threw the government of England into the melting pot. By Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's advice the King nominated Newcastle First Lord of the Treasury

The D. of Newcastle at the Head of the Treasury, Legge his Chancellor of the Exchequer, and you Secretary of State.

You dont imagine that this Plan was chalked out by those in the Cabinet who are your Friends?

I thought you had been told that nobody was to be put above your Head in the House of Commons. This is not directly so, but it is indirectly so.

The Connection of the Manager of the House of Commons is so interwoven with all Treasury and Revenue buisness, that I don't comprehend how they can be separated.

If you are to sit there, and only do the business of a Secretary of State, you will speak about twice, perhaps not once, in a Session. If you are to meddle in the main Point of unloosing the purse strings of the nation, you cannot do it with Weight and Dignity, while you do it as a Deputy who is not imagined to come into his Office with the Favor and Protection of His Principal, but rather is supposed not to be the most agreeable to the D. of Newcastle and those who advise and govern him.

To whom are the Members of the House of Commons to address themselves? To the D. of Newcastle? Alas! He wont know their names in two years, and will forget them in two Days. His own natural dilatory manner, his shuffling and unintelligible answers, His Habitude, Fear, and Aversion to propose any thing to the King, and the impossibility of bringing him to return to the Charge after a Royal Negative; His disagreeable Manner, His affronting Vivacity, His Captiousness, His Jealousy, His Intriguing Genius, and the very little knowledge He has of the World and Mankind—I say all these Qualifications wou'd soon beget an opposition, ay, a formidable one, even in such a House of Commons as this is.

No Man in England has a worse Character for carrying on buisness than His Grace. The City will tremble to hear He is at the Head of the Treasury. Who is to talk to the Bank about Bargains? Who are the trading People to address themselves to? His Grace? He who was six months before He could find time to countersign a warrant for His Friend to be a Canon of Christ-Church.

Can such a man rule the Board and do Treasury Buisness? Impossible.

and Legge Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fox was to be Secretary of State and Leader of the Commons, and accepted the offer, until he found that Newcastle intended to withhold from him the patronage and knowledge of public matters, which he considered were necessary to enable him properly to carry out the duties.

And if He cant, who is to do it; for whoever does it, must have the Power? To him, all the Commissioners in the offices must come. To him, the merchants and all men in employment of Buisness must address themselves. And whoever is known to do the Buisness will directly or indirectly have a great share of that Power that 'tis necessary to have to govern and oblige the House of Commons with.

You, my Dear Fox, *are to be at the head of the House of Commons. Nobody is to be put before you there.* Will any of the Buisness I have mentioned be put into your Hands? Will your Recommendations have Efficacious Weight to satisfy those *you are to lead*? In short, will that Power that I say follows the Buisness I have mentioned, be put into your hands? If not, you are but the Shadow of the Minister. The Members will soon find out that you are but Raggs, and gather from other Trees in the face of you.

Is Mr. Legge to manage the whole Revenue and Money Affairs in the House of Commons? If He is, He is the Head of the House of Commons, and you are not. If He is not, He is a fool for changing his present Employment.

'Tis natural to suppose that the other vacancys, I mean Secretary at War and Treasurer of the Navy, will be filled up with Persons in no Connection with you; so that neither your support in the House nor out of the House will be such as the *Leader of it* can depend upon for assistance and Protection.

I could have wish'd that before this time you had had a Conference with the D. of Newcastle. I suppose his Advisers feared what I wish, and prevailed. No man's Sense is stronger than yours, and no man's Judgment better; and they see your accepting the Post of Secretary without conditions in different Lights, I suppose, from that in which I see it. But as I see it, I am frightened at it. It is, I imagine, to be offered to you directly from the King. Are you to take no Time to consider of it? Won't you explain with the D. of Newcastle before you accept it? Won't you settle the meaning of the words, *First Person in and Leader of the House of Commons*.

From the late method of holding Cabinets, are you sure you shall be summoned to any Meetings, except on the two Post nights?

I shall say nothing of the impracticability of His Grace, because that holds as strong against your taking the Treasury. But I think his Insincerity requires strong and clear Terms before you enter upon your office.

Harry told me that you said in a joke, that I must teach you to be a Secretary of State. I am sure, if you think me usefull, I will be your Comis,

and upon the Word of an honest man never take any other Employment while you are in that office.

I believe I have wrote strange Stuff, but I am so full that I could not help unloading. I wish you to be what I think you deserve to be, the actual and real Leader of the House of Commons. I am y^r Friend and Servant,

C. H. WILLIAMS.

Pray at least insist upon the Northern Province. I think your insisting upon that will be a kind of Touch Stone as to the Confidence they profess reposing in you.

MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON¹ TO MR. FOX.

Dublin. May 17, 1755.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I had this afternoon the pleasure of receiving your Letter, and intended, had I not heard from you, to have wrote by the Pacquet that sails this night. Mr. Ellis is not yet arriv'd, which renders your Letter not quite so intelligible as it otherways wou'd have been;² but if I can guess at all, it is that your walk appears more plain and open, and another person's more dark and difficult, which (tho' I own I wish that person very well) gives me some satisfaction, as it makes me flatter myself that affairs have been carried on with a due and proper respect to a certain person. For I take your situation at present to be symptomaticall, but whatever it is, I hope you think that my wishes are that it may be agreeable and honourable to yourself. But I shall leave this subject till such time as I have seen Mr. Ellis, when you shall hear from me again.

As to that thorn you mention, I flatter myself that the point of it is pretty well blunted, and upon the whole I have great reason to hope that every thing will go well;³ for if People's words and promises, given in the

¹ Lord Hartington had just succeeded the Duke of Dorset in the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

² The letter is printed in *Waldegrave Memoirs*, p. 155. It narrated Fox's conversations with Pitt, in which the latter made it clear that he would not act with his former friend. They were "upon different lines, not opposite, but converging."

³ "I long to hear that in taking, as Mr. Pitt expresses it, the thorn of Ireland out of the D. of Newcastle's side, you have not hurt yourself" (Fox to Hartington. May 13, 1755).

The friendship of the Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Stone (brother of Newcastle's secretary), for Dorset and his son, Lord George Sackville, the Chief Secretary, largely increased the political jealousies which were rife at this time. Speaker Boyle and Malone were the leaders

strongest manner, are to be depended upon, which till I have found them false I don't love to doubt, I am to have as easy a time as ever *Ld Lieutenant* had. The only persons that I have negotiated with are the Speaker and Mr. Malone; the terms of agreement were concluded with the former and confirm'd by the latter. When the Speaker first came, he began with great professions of Duty and attachment to the King, and a sincere desire of contributing to make my administration easy and honourable. From general professions we soon came to talk of terms. The first thing he ask'd was whether, if he promis'd that they wou'd not bring on the Previous consent, wou'd I do the same, to which I answer'd, y^t I did not chuse to make any such promise, neither wou'd I talk upon y^t subject till he had open'd himself farther, and desir'd him to speak out and tell me fairly w^t they w^d have. "Why then my L^d," said he, "we do desire to know whether the Primate is to have the sole direction of affairs and to continue to govern this country: for that is w^t we are determin'd never to submit to." And upon my assuring them that if they wou'd concur in supporting Government properly, that they shou'd have no reason to complain of me on that head, we presently came to the following Agreement. The Speaker promis'd on his part, that they wou'd not bring on the Previous consent, that there shou'd be no censures or retrospect, and y^t they wou'd concur in supporting Government and endeavour to restore Peace and Tranquillity to the Country; on my part, I told them y^t, tho' I did not choose to promise not to bring on the Previous consent, yet that it was not my intention to do it this Session, if it was to be avoided, as I wou'd not wantonly bring on any Question that might disturb the Public tranquillity, and that if they behav'd well they might depend upon it that they shou'd have their full share of Favour and Influence, and y^t I wou'd shew them all the regard y^t was due to them. At the same time y^t I wou'd proscribe nobody, and y^t I was determin'd to judge for myself, and w^d be govern'd by no one person. The Speaker declar'd himself perfectly satisfyed with these conditions, as did Malone, and they continue to be in very good humour. No difficulty remains but y^t of my coming away which I have not time to write upon now. Y^r Friend *Ld Kildare*¹ seems pleas'd I have been to see his house,

of Opposition, and ranged themselves with Lord Kildare, the representative of the noble Irish families, against the Government and the Primate. Their aim was to secure a proper Parliamentary Government, and the power of acting without that eternal interference which the English Ministers claimed to exercise.

¹ Lord Kildare had married, in 1747, Lady Emily Lennox, Lady Caroline Fox's sister.

and am to dine with him in the country tomorrow. I cou'd write a great deal more; but it is very late and I have not time. It is perhaps vanity to say it, but I own I am rather pleas'd with myself, for I think I have done well with these People. I have talk'd very fairly and very civilly to them, but with great firmness, and have supported the honour of the Crown, and have never yielded the least in that respect. You shall hear from me before I set out upon my expedition, which will be this day seven-night. I am with great truth,

Dear Sr,

most sincerely y^{rs},

HARTINGTON.

MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON TO MR. FOX.

Dublin. May 23, 1755.

DEAR S^r.

Mr. Ellis¹ arriv'd here on Tuesday Evening, and was with me the next morning; and according to your order related to me, I dare say very exactly, the conversation in Lord Hillsborough's Garden.² As to my opinion of what was the occasion of such a discourse, I own I was never more clear of any thing in my Life, and I think the whole tenour of his conversation plainly points out that it was those feelings you mention. He is hurt that you have enjoy'd that Sunshine of Royal Favour, your Winter's Cabinet Council, and your Summer's Regency; which has plac'd you in a situation that he thinks superior to his. This mortifys him and hurts him, and the same impetuosity of Temper (worked up by his Ambition) that made him prematurely begin the attack upon S^r Tho^s Robinson last winter, cou'd not let him conceal his uneasiness at the thoughts of your being in a better situation than he is, tho' at the same time he is forc'd to confess that you are irreproachable with respect to him. This conversation of Mr. Pitt's certainly sets you quite at Liberty, tho' at the same time I am clearly of opinion that you shou'd keep well with him if you can, or at least have the Appearance of it; for, in the first place, it enables you to treat better with his Grace of Newcastle, and in the next place, tho' he has Ambition and warmth of Temper, yet I believe him to be a man of honour, and his abilities are such as will make his Friendship usefull to anybody. As to any Treaty that may be going on with him, I know nothing of it, as I have

¹ Welbore Ellis (1713-1802), one of Fox's dearest friends.

² Fox's conversation with Pitt early in May.

not heard from y^e Duke of Newcastle or old Horace¹ since I left London; but when I came away I understood it to be entirely over, and by the last conversation I had with y^e Duke of Newcastle I thought his intention was to cultivate you in order to try to get well with His Royal Highness, and I hope he will continue in that resolution, for there is no sense or safety for him in any thing else and the best service he can do the King and his country. Thus I have, as you desir'd, given you my opinion such as it is, tho' I am sure you have so much better advice that you do not want mine.

I beg you will present my most humble Duty to His Royal Highness, and acquaint him that on Tuesday we review'd Dejean's Reg^t of Dragoons and three of Foot, O'ffarell's, Rickbell's, and Kennedy's. They all perform'd well, and Ld Rothes, &c. seem'd well pleas'd with them. I set out on Sunday upon my expedition, and the disposition is so made that, with the review here after my return, I shall have seen all the Forces except Molesworth and Waldegrave's; I propose seeing Duncannon, Fort Corke, Kinsail, and Limerick, but I have been oblig'd to lay aside my intention of going to Athlone, for the roads I hear are almost impassible and no accomodation to be met with, and I do not find that my going there will be of any great use.

In my last letter I gave you an acc^t of the Terms that were agreed on between me and the Speaker, and which his Friends have approv'd of. It was given out at first by some of their People, that in my conversation with the Speaker I had given up the Previous consent and allow'd that they had been in the right, and that I had promis'd to disgrace the Primate. At first I took no notice of it, but when I found it gain'd ground, I mention'd it to Mr. Boyle and Mr. Malone, and ask'd them if I had ever said any such thing, for that I did not chuse that a report so injurious to me and so contrary to what I agreed upon with them shou'd be propagated abroad. They immediately acknowledg'd that what I had said was directly the reverse. I told this to Ld Kildare and some others, and since that I have heard no more of it. I thought it best to mention it, that in case it shou'd be wrote over to England you may know what to say upon it. I am afraid there is an end of my returning to England before the meeting of the Parliament. I had talk'd it over with Malone, who had consented or rather acquiesc'd in my appointing the old L^{ds} Justices; but he came to me two days ago and told me that, as he wish'd me well, he thought it his Duty to tell me that upon talking with his friends, he had chang'd his mind, and that he was convinc'd that was I to go away and

¹ Horatio Walpole, afterwards created Lord Walpole.

leave the Primate in the Government, such was the dislike at present to his Grace, that it wou'd not be in their power to prevent disturbances in Parliament; and that the spirit and flame which were subsiding apace wou'd break out again with more force and violence than ever. As I have great reason to think him sincere and that he intends to support me thoroughly, w^t he says weighs much with me, and as I also find, from other People that I consult with, that my staying will certainly obviate all difficulties, I think it much better to resolve upon it, and I have wrote to y^e D. of Newcastle this post to tell him of it; but as I have desir'd him not to mention it to anybody, I must beg of you also to do the same, except to his Royal Highness. I am sorry to hear of poor Coll Scot's death. If I understood you right, His Royal Highness had no objection and did not think it wou'd be improper for me to recommend my Brother. My only doubt is whether it is not full soon, and I wish you wou'd just mention it, for I submit myself entirely to His Royal Highness' commands. To be sure, if it cou'd be obtain'd, it wou'd make me very happy; if not, I shou'd beg to recommend that it might go in the Reg^t. I have told my Father that I have wrote to you about it; if the Duke shou'd be so good as to approve of it, I must beg of you to give the proper assistance and let me know in what manner I ought to proceed. I am, with great truth,

Dear S^r,

Most sincerely y^{rs},

HARTINGTON.

MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON TO MR. FOX.

Dublin. May 25, 1755.

DEAR S^r.

I wrote you a long letter by the last post, and shou'd not have troubled you again so soon, had it not been for a long conversation that I had yesterday morning with Lord Kildare. I remember your request to me concerning him at parting, and as I shall ever wish to do what you desire, I take the first opportunity of acquainting you with what has pass'd, that when you see him you may endeavour to persuade him to act so as to enable me to shew that regard to his Lordship, which (on his account as well as yours) I wish to do. Among other things, his Lordship told me y^t he wish'd I wou'd not return to England, for that it wou'd occasion great disturbance: to which I said I shou'd be sorry if it did, and if I found it so, shou'd consider of it well

before I resolv'd upon it. And more at present I did not chuse to say, as I shou'd be sorry to have it reported here, before I see what turn it takes in England. His Lordship then talk'd of the hatred there was to the Primate, and that People wou'd never be quiet if he was ever to be in the Government again, and for his part in y^t case he did not wish them to be quiet. I told him I was sorry to hear him say so, as that was contrary to the Stipulation I had made with his Friends, which was y^t if the Primate behav'd reasonably I wou'd suffer no disgrace to happen to him. I think his Lordship looks at it himself; it is very remarkable, but I had intelligence this morning before he came that he had alter'd his conversation and was not so well dispos'd as at first; and indeed nobody has ever talk'd to me in that style. He also let fall in a former conversation y^t he must take care not to lose his Popularity. I cou'd not help letting his Lordship know that I cou'd do without him, tho' at the same time I wish'd to have his assistance and to shew him all the regard in the world. I shall be very angry if you shew this to any body, but I was desirous you shou'd know it, the better to enable you to give him good advice, for depend upon it, if he does not take care, he will be the dupe to some hotheaded People; for if there is any faith in men, I cannot fail of success. I desire you will ask the Duke whether it is absolutely necessary y^t the Horses of the Dragoons shou'd not go to grass, for it is apprehended that there will be great difficultys in getting forage for them. I have just now receiv'd a letter from S^r Rob^t Willmott, with a message from you in relation to Norman and Cockburn, both which I will take care of. I am with great truth,

Dear S^r,

y^r most sincere humble serv^t,

HARTINGTON.

I shou'd tell you y^t Ld Kildare and I parted very good Friends.

MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON TO MR. FOX.

Dublin. June 22nd, 1755.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I receiv'd y^{rs} of the 14 this morning. I flatter myself that my Letter to you and my Father have clear'd up your doubts. The state of the case was really this. I propos'd originally the restoring the Speaker to his place, to

counter ballance the continuing of the old Lords Justices. When I found I cou'd not come away without prejudice to the service, I thought the deferring it, as I then saw no inconvenience from it, was keeping up more to the plan that I first set out with, and as such I wrote the Duke of Newcastle word from the Speaker's that I was very willing to defer restoring him till towards the meeting of Parliament. This was at y^t time my opinion. The advice I have since receiv'd from you and my Father wou'd have been sufficient to have made me change it, and the behaviour of the Duke of Newcastle has convinc'd me of the necessity of doing it. My Father and you may be quite easy as to my submitting to His Grace and the Chancellor, for when I have settled my plan, and fix'd upon what I think proper and necessary for the King's service and the ease and quiet of his Government here, if they make any opposition to or throw difficultys in the way of it, I shall show them that I am not to be ill-treated, and shall talk to them with full as much or more firmness than I have to the Speaker or Mr. Malone; and I am apt to think it will operate to the full as much in London as in Dublin. If I am prevented and thwarted in those measures which shall be found necessary to preserve the public tranquility, and the consequence shou'd be public confusion, I shall certainly endeavour to disculpate myself and throw the odium on those that deserve it. While I can serve the King and act with Honour to myself, I am willing to undergo any thing, but the moment I find that not to be the case, I shall beg of His Majesty to release me, and give him my reasons for so doing. I have not heard one syllable from His Grace since I wrote to him from Castle Martyr, which appears rather extraordinary.

I own from circumstances that arise here as well as from the advice of my Friends, that I am thoroughly convinc'd of the utility of appointing the Speaker soon; Mr. Conway¹ waits only for his coming to Town. He has been expected all the last week, but as he is not come I have sent him a message to hasten him, and my design is to talk over with him our former agreement (which I must look upon as absolutely conclusive, and if they do not, shall think they have broke their words with me), and propose to settle in writing with Mr. Malone and him, in the presence of Col^l Conway, our scheme for the next Session; and if they give him Authority (which I expect they shall do), to tell the Government y^t they will support it and help to carry it thro'. Then I think they will have given sufficient proof of their

¹ Hon. Henry Seymour Conway (1719-1795), Chief Secretary in Ireland under Lord Hartington.

good intentions, and I am thoroughly warranted to insist upon the Speaker's restoration, which Col^l Conway will have my directions to urge most strenuously if there shou'd be occasion, and to desire that it may be done immediately; or if it shou'd be necessary to send to Hannover, that that may be complied with without loss of time. And I will also give him a Letter for Ld Holderness, which I shall desire may be shewn to the King if it is thought proper; but that I shall leave to my Father to judge of. This, Dear S^r, is my opinion, and I hope it will be approv'd of by my Friends. I shall desire Col^l Conway to call on my Father and take his directions, before he sees any of the Ministers, and I will send notice of his coming. I shou'd hope that the Spirit that has rag'd in this country is subsiding, and by my stay here will continue to do so very fast; but at the same time those that have rais'd it have much to answer for, as it is of a malignant kind and tends to overthrow all Government. I am told that in the North especially People have been work'd up almost to disaffection, but I hope they will cool and come to their senses again. As to what you say concerning the Primate, I do not believe that you are much in the wrong; we are upon very good terms. I have given him to understand that I wish him well, but that the times will not admit of his meddling in Business, and therefore the best thing he can do is to be quiet. I am told he thinks so too; perhaps you may think that he finds he can do no otherways. Your advice against intimacy is very proper, and I shall follow it as much as is possible, but his connection with Mr. Ponsonby brings us together certainly more than I cou'd wish, and another unlucky circumstance is that at Castleton we are very near neighbours. I agree entirely with you that my Business is not to think only of getting over one Sessions, but to endeavour to settle this country upon a solid and lasting foundation. But as to forming some plan with regard to the Lords Justices previous to the meeting of Parliament, I much question whether it is possible. I had it hinted to me, that if I wou'd but give an intimation that I wou'd not leave the Primate in the Government when I went away, that they wou'd do everything that I pleas'd; but that I rejected, and told them that it was impossible for me to give assurance, for that I never cou'd in honour give up any one that supported the right of the Crown against those that had attack'd them: and it was acquiesc'd in. Mr. Malone own'd to me the other day *that they had thorough confidence in me, but that they were afraid of the Primate's influence with the Ministry.* My answer was, that if they acted a right part I hoped I should be able to support them against the Primate and

the Ministry, if any thing of that sort was attempted; but if they had any reserve or unfair managements, that it wou'd certainly give him and his Friends a great advantage over them, and wou'd make it very difficult for me to serve them. I think this had great weight with him. I desir'd that we might settle every thing, that I might know what I had to depend upon, and what I might write to England. He desir'd that I wou'd wait till the Speaker came to Town, for that he did not care to take so much upon himself, but that I might write that there was the fairest prospect that every thing would go well; and indeed what I hear from all quarters makes me flatter myself that I shall carry the Business thro' with ease. But I shall not be at rest in my own mind, till I have got them to agree to support the Plan for the next session, and then I think I shall have them safe. As to your English affairs, I am, upon my word, at a Loss what to say about them. I am afraid the D. of Newcastle is so made that there is no altering him, and then no good can be done. I shall only add that you have my best wishes, and with great truth,

Dear S^r,

Most sincerely y^{rs},

HARTINGTON.

P.S. You may depend upon it that I will do every thing in my power to serve your Friend, Ld Kildare, and will give all the merit I can.

MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON TO MR. FOX.

DEAR S^r.

I receiv'd your Letter by the express. I have wrote so fully my opinion concerning the Irish affairs to Col^l Conway and my Father, both which Letters I have desired you may see, that I shall in this say very little on that subject. You will see that I differ from the Scheme consented to by y^e D. of Newcastle. I think it very right to have the Powers to make use of as occasion shall require, but was I to put in execution what is propos'd, it certainly cou'd not have the desir'd effect, I mean y^t of restoring Peace to this Country. As to my L^d Kildare, you may depend upon it that I shall do every thing in my Power to serve him; the relation he bears to you is sufficient for that purpose. You judge very right in not telling him of the Facility y^t there is in his Grace of Newcastle, for was y^t to be known here it wou'd make them impracticable. I have seen enough of the Speaker and his Friends never to

trust them or put myself in their Power. I have held my tongue because it was not my Business to cry them down, or to quarrell with them, but between us (and I beg it may go no further, except to that great person from whom I desire nothing may be conceal'd) they have, I think, deceiv'd me and falsify'd me, I am afraid, upon every occasion, and for that reason I will never put myself in their power. If this Country must be govern'd by them, I shall beg His Majesty to send somebody else to do it. My view is to keep the Ballance in my own hands. It is a difficult task, but I don't despair of it. I grow stronger every day and am sure I can beat y^e Speaker, but I don't wish to do it; for it can not be done without throwing this Country into a Violent Flame, which particularly at this time is to be avoided if possible.

The Situation of Affairs here you can easily imagine give me some uneasiness, but your Letter by my Brother gave me much more. Your account of the proceedings at Kew is the most melancholy news I have heard a great while.¹ I have long thought y^t a union and confidence among all the Royal Family was the only thing y^t cou'd save us, and if that is in danger of being at an End, which by what you say I am afraid it is, I see nothing but confusion and ruin to follow. The conversation of Pitt is by this means thoroughly accounted for; to be sure he wanted to have a pretence to break off with you, and to endeavour to justifie himself in so doing. Your Letter a little explains something in a Letter I rec'd last post from the D. of N., in which he says nothing is settled, but that something must be done before the meeting of the Parliament. I think they will have difficulty to persuade the King to do any thing for Pitt, and if your Friend L^d W.² states the case, it may perhaps have some effect on our Master; but experience upon that subject does not give one great hopes. I wish it was in my power to give any assistance; my good wishes is all that I can offer, and that I do most sincerely. I am, with great truth,

Dear Mr. Fox,

Your most sincere Friend, &c.

HARTINGTON.

Castleton.

July 30, 1755.

I should be glad you communicated all Irish affairs to Ld Waldegrave, for whom you know I have the greatest respect.

¹ The secret intrigues of the Princess of Wales against the Court. See *Waldegrave Memoirs*, p. 49.

² Waldegrave.

MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON TO MR. FOX.

Castleton. Aug. 21, 1755.

DEAR S^R.

I am much oblig'd to you for your Letter by Ld Kildare. I am very sorry to see things going on in so untoward a way in England, and very much so for your situation in particular. What assistance I can be of to you, I don't know; all that I can do, you may depend upon; and for that purpose if we are quiet here, which I think we shall be, I will endeavour to get the Business in Parliament as forward as possible, in order to come over the sooner if you shou'd want me. On the other hand, if my Father shou'd differ with regard to foreign Affairs from what the King shou'd wish, that may put me under great difficulties.¹ If my advice is worth having, it is to keep cool and as quiet as you can. I know it is a difficult part for any man to act under provocation, and more particularly so for you; but consider the consequences if you shou'd fly out. Your Enemys will have gain'd what they have been long wishing for, and will triumph over you; you will be forc'd into opposition which you have allways declar'd an aversion to, and you will be oblig'd to joyn with People whose Principles you detest. I remember an expression of yours which shou'd make you very cautious how you engage in opposition; your words were these:—"If ever I go into opposition, I will never come back but with the whole." If you continue in the same way of thinking, what a desperate Game will you have to play, considering the People that in all probability will be connected with you. I shou'd flatter myself, if you are quiet, the King cou'd not be prevail'd upon to give you up; and I think it is better remaining Secretary at War and Cabinet Counsellor than going into opposition. I am afraid you won't like my advice, but I cou'd not help giving it you, such as it is, for no one loves you more sincerely or wishes you better than,

D^r S^r,Y^r most faithfull humble serv^t,

HARTINGTON.

I hope you are satisfy'd with my manner of talking to Ld Kildare. He seems to be in great good humour, and I was very well pleas'd with him.

¹ The Duke of Devonshire differed from the Court upon the subject of the Subsidiary Treaties, which were to become the bone of contention in the subsequent session. Fox had

He had one expression, to tell you the truth, I did not much like. He said he thought w^t I offer'd was fair and reasonable and hoped they wou'd accept the terms, but that he must go with his Friends. Now I think if a man finds his Friends in the wrong, he ought not to go with them.

LORD HOPETOUN¹ TO MR FOX.

DEAR SIR.

Last Post brought me the honour of your obliging Letter, which gave me double Pleasure, as a particular Mark of Friendship upon which I put the highest value, and on account of your Promotion, on which I most heartily congratulate you, and wish you all manner of success in your new and high employment.² It has ever been my maxim to contribute my Mite towards the Support of the King's Measures, from which no private Views shall make me deviate, and I have not the least Apprehension there can ever be any publick Reason for opposing them. But when his Majesty's Servants are such as I have a particular Esteem and Regard for, that must double my Zeal and make me regret that I have it so little in my Power to be usefull to them, especially at so critical a Juncture as the present, which may require the greatest Abilities and most perfect Union in the Ministry, as well as the strongest Support from all good Subjects.

The best proof I can give you, Dear Sir, of my real Friendship and good Wishes is to tell you Truth, and in that Light I'm persuaded you will take in good part my acquainting you That an opinion has prevail'd (and if I mistake not has been industriously propagated) in this Country,³ that you have no Favour for it, which, if you think it worth while, you can be at no loss in your future Station to find some proper opportunity of removing, and tho' I'm sensible it can be of no great weight, yet there are Times and Circumstances when a very small matter may cast the Ballance. Besides you are too good a Judge of the true Interest of the Publick not to be sensible how much depends upon the Completion of the Union, and that nothing can promote it so much as a total Abolition of all national Distinctions. Shall I give way

been admitted to the Cabinet in December 1755, and took further advantage of this crisis to exchange the War Office for the Secretary of State's seals. His position was rendered especially difficult by Newcastle's thinly veiled hostility.

¹ John, second Lord Hopetoun, who died in 1759.

² Henry Fox had just been appointed Secretary of State in place of Sir Thomas Robinson.

³ Scotland.

Hopetoun to Fox

to my Sincerity and venture still farther, by telling you that the World says, when my Friend shall have acquired a Command of Temper equall to his abilities, they will be superior to most of his Cotemporarys. Such is the Freedom I take with those I have a true Regard for, and so I wish to be treated by them.

Lady Hopetoun and L^{dy} Drumlanrig join with my Son and me in begging our best Compliments may be acceptable to Lady Caroline and your young Gentlemen, and allow me to trouble you with them in the best manner to good Lord Ilchester, and to assure you that I am with great Respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

& most humble Servant,

HOPETOUN.

Hopt. House. Oct^r 3, 1755.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE¹ TO MR. FOX.

Chatsworth. Oct. y^e 4, 1755.

D^R S^R.

I am much obliged to you for the Favour of yours of Sep. y^e 27, w^{ch} did not come hither till Thursday y^e 2^d at night. If your Promotion proves agreeable to you I heartily congratulate you upon it, as I allways shall be rejoiced at every [thing] that happens to your satisfaction; being strongly called upon to do so from the great civilities I have rec^d from you on all occasions, and what is a very interesting Point to me, the Friendship you have shewn to my son to w^{ch} he probably owes the prospect he has of an easy administration. I see wth pleasure that Col. Conway, whose opinion I value much, thinks L^d Kildare has done admirably well and has shewn himself a man of Honour. I am also much obliged to you for the Justice you did me, when you told his Majesty (this I have from S^r R. W.²) that if I was against the Subsidy Treaties, it was from opinion, not desire of opposition. In a Letter I rec^d the Post before, I hear I am named as one of those who have declared their disapprobation. I think the word *declared* too strong to be applied to me, who talks with few people, and with very few in confidence. I am not surprised that His Majesty had been told so, when I recollect that the D. of N. told a Friend of yours that I was one of them that were agst the subsidies, but that I was more

¹ William, third Duke of Devonshire, who died in the following December.

² Probably Sir Robert Wilmot.

attached to Mr. Pitt than you. If he confined himself to the first part, I have nothing to say against, if it did it with^t aggravation: the comparison is what he had nothing to do with, and had no grounds to say. My Opinion of the Subsidies he certainly might know from my L^d Chancellor, who did me the Hon^r he has upon former occasions of talking to me on the subject, and the opinion I had of Mr. Pitt might be collected from wh^t I said after Mr. Pelham's Death, that I wished he might have been brought into the Ministry, tho' I believed it impracticable. I believe at that time I had never had any sort of discourse wth him; my opinion of him was founded on that of others whose judgem^t I value. This year I have had two or three conversations wth him. The first upon Irish affairs, where he has relations: the last upon the subsidies, when I own I thought he expressed himself wth moderation and good sense. The morning that Mr. Legge was going to the Treasury when he declined signing a paper, he called upon & told me his intentions, w^{ch} I could not say any thing against.¹ If he had signed that Paper, he could not decently have declined propos^g the thing as Chan. of the Exch., w^{ch} he had no reason to undertake to do, as he had difficulties ab^t it and nothing relating to it had been communicated to him, w^{ch} was an uncommon neglect of one in his Station. I will only add that as to myself I am under no engagement, but to myself, to do what I think I can justify to myself. The Post boy stays. I am, with the greatest Truth and Regard,

D^r S^r,

Your most obed^t

& faithful humble serv^t,

DEVONSHIRE.

HON. H. LEGGE TO MR. FOX.

Holte. Friday night. Oct^r 17, 1755.

DEAR FOX.

I am very sensible of the tenderness you shew for my situation, which is to be sure a little delicate, but I really think it is much fitter that you should sign the circular Letters than that I should do it.² I take for granted the

¹ Legge, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to sign the Treasury Warrants for the Treaty with Hesse-Cassel, which the King had concluded during his absence abroad.

² It was customary before the opening of Parliament for the leader of the House of Commons to send round a letter to his supporters, summoning them to attend a meeting at the Cockpit. The duty had previously fallen to Legge's lot, as Chancellor of the Exchequer,

King's Speech must contain some Intimation, and the words for the Address some approbation of the Subsidies, and as I am so unfortunate as to dissent from the measure, I can with no propriety recommend to others what I cannot approve of myself. This being the case, it is certainly much better that I should not take a step, by signing the circulars, which would look as if I meant to recommend subsidies; and had much rather you should sign them than do it myself. I am very sorry to find that somehow or another we are got upon different ground, but as I take it our Sentiments of men and things are very much the same, I make no doubt but we shall meet at last.

We come to town to settle next monday, and I will certainly call upon you on tuesday morning at Holland House. My wife joins in comp^{ts} to Lady Caroline and your Self. I am, Dear S^r,

Y^r Faithfull humble

Serv.,

H. B. LEGGE.

MR. H. WALPOLE, SENIOR, TO MR. FOX.

Woolbeding. Oct^{br} 20, 1755.

DEAR SIR.

I have been favoured with yours of y^e 16th Inst^t, containing such singular marks of your friendship to me, especially in your free conversation with y^e D. of N. on my subject and for my service, as desired; and you most sincerely have my particular acknowledgements.¹

Among y^e variety of things w^{ch} your letter points at, I believe I agree with all your notions and inferences, and altho' what you say is only conjectural, it appears to me as true as if you had been confidentially consulted in y^e political cabinet next door to my house. I think of y^e affair that concerns my selfe, both with respect to y^e present state of it as what has past constantly before upon it, just as you doe, and see it in y^e same Light. I have not been hitherto nor will be y^e Dupe in believing what I doe not see plainly; nor in entertaining hasty and hopefull conclusions from vague promises, and from loose, temporary, pretended good offices. You and I and all mankind believe, as you truly told him, that I had rendered him singular services last sessions.

¹ Old Horace Walpole was most anxious to obtain a peerage. His wish was fulfilled six months later.

I must own it was not personally for his sake, but for his Majty's tranquility and ease, so necessary at his time of Life, and to preserve Peace and Union at home at a juncture when troubles threatened and have since overtaken us from abroad. As I explained to you in a former letter, I am now invited by his Grace to hasten up so fast to town, *for my own sake as well as for y^e King's and y^e publick's*, but he does not articulate one thing relating to y^e King, y^e Publick, or my selfe, for my information or satisfaction. I shall indeed be at y^e Cock-pit two days sooner than I intended; but I tell his Grace by this post I shall confine my selfe to my dark closet, unless I know something more clear and explicit as to y^e success of his utmost endeavours, w^h he tells me, as I now verily believe him, *to bring about what He, as well as my selfe, most earnestly desires*; but y^e reasonableness and utility of publick measures, whatever they may be, will at last have a greater influence upon my conduct than my own private concern.

I have indeed declared no Opinion against Subsidys, because I don't know where they are to be placed. I have for several years suggested in vain where they might be given, in case of an apparent war with France, for y^e advantage and security of his Majesty and his Dominions, both as King and elector. All that I know at present is that we have taken a Body of Hessians into our pay, w^h I look upon as a Right measure to supply, considering y^e small number of standing forces at home, y^e place of y^e troops, w^h in case of civil troubles or a foreign invasion y^e States are by treaty obliged, but are neither able nor willing and indeed, were they ever so willing, dare not furnish in their situation; and therefore I was extreamly sorry that my friend Legge refused signing y^e warrant for advancing, I suppose, Levy-money for those troops.

I can't help taking notice of *what y^e D. of N. more than once told you, viz., that I don't Love you*. I am sure I never told his Grace so, but I well remember that after y^e Rustle w^h you and Mr. Pitt had in y^e Reading Committee with S^r Thomas Robinson, and y^e cry at Court was "turn them both out," his Grace asking my opinion. I advised him not to be too hasty in Removals. "Why," he said, "Horace, Fox hates you." I replied, I was not govern'd in publick affairs by private affections. But these little ministerial tricks are not worth mentioning; I shall faithfully obey your commands, and not speak of your letter either to friend or Foe. But I cannot help observing that his Grace, in his letter to me, says: "I have told Mr. Fox (to whom I find you have wrote largely on this subject) in general what I have done, and

I believe you will receive a letter from him by this post." These are his very words. Now how far am I to understand that y^e communication between you and the correspondence of you both with me has gone? And to what degree of confidence, I am, with y^e greatest regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most sincere friend

& humble Servant,

H. WALPOLE.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. FOX.

Newcastle House. May 8th, 1756.

DEAR, S^r.

I received late last night the favor of your letter. I own Cap^t Hervey's letter gave me great comfort; as it did very remarkably to The King and my Lord Anson,¹ who thought from it that Ad. Byng was undoubtedly strong enough, and that in all probability the French Fleet would not stay to meet him.² The account of the French Land and Sea Force, as well as that of the strength of the Garrison, gives in my opinion great weight and probability to His Royal Highness's opinion that the Garrison must hold out one month or six weeks, and sure within that Time that Mr. Byng must arrive. I entirely agree with you that whatever Reinforcement is sent to Admiral Byng, should go immediately. I was of that opinion, but Lord Anson, you must remember, said, that the Hessian Transports would in all probability be here, before Transports could be taken up for the Regim^{ts} to be sent to Gibraltar or Minorca.

When His Royal Highness proposed sending orders immediately to V. A. Boscawen to detach a part of his Fleet, Ld Anson feared that that would weaken too much his Fleet, and therefore chose rather to send three or four large ships from hence. Why might not those large ships go immediately to

¹ First Lord of the Admiralty.

² Admiral Byng had been despatched early in April to the Mediterranean to protect Minorca, which was threatened by the French. Doubts had been thrown upon the adequacy of his force for the work on hand; but Anson, overburdened with fears of an invasion of Great Britain itself, refused till too late to find more ships. Cumberland and Fox had for months been urging that some action should be taken, but the latter was constantly outvoted in the Cabinet.

join Boscawen, or proceed directly to Gibraltar, and then take two or three Battalions, if Admiral Byng has taken none from thence before, and proceed with them directly to Port Mahon? But this I entirely submit to His Royal Highness and to my Lord Anson; I think it agrees with your notion entirely. In our present situation I cannot apprehend any Danger to Gibraltar. Spain will not attack it, and I suppose France has employment enough at Minorca. I will not imagine that they can take Minorca and attempt the siege of Gibraltar, before we shall have more than a supreme naval force to prevent the latter.

I shall make but few Remarks upon what passed yesterday in the House. I dont remember that I ever differ'd in opinion from the Rest of the King's Servants in relation to Minorca. I dont think the Defence of what was done difficult, tho' I am not more concerned to defend it than others. You must remember what was constantly said, whenever this Question was before us, that the *Heart* must be secured in the first place. That their naval strength could not be so great as they represented it, or be ready so soon. That independently of the great consideration of leaving this Kingdom defenceless by sea, Sure it may be said that a Sea Fight in the Channel, with an Inferior force, which might, which probably would have been the case if a great squadron had been sent afloat, as is now represented to have been necessary, I say a Sea Fight in the Channel, wth an Inferior force on our side, would have been a more fatal thing than in the Mediterranean; and that the Ministers would have been represented as Fools or Knaves, that did not see that the preparations at Toulon were only a feint. The occasion of all our misfortunes, and that will encrease every day, is, that we are not equal to the work we have undertaken. We are not singly a match for France. We cannot provide for all Services and all places where they may attack us. And rather than own this Truth, when any misfortune happens, which may in Itself have been unavoidable, the Ministry are to be blamed and Recourse had to a supposed neglect of proper preventive measures at a Time when there would have been more just Imputation, if they had been undertaken, and which would not now have alter'd the Question at present.

I am, Dear Sr,

Y^r most obedient Humble Servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P.S. My Lord G. Sackville says that the present situation shows how right his motion for the Hanoverians was. That motion shows how dangerous,

may I may say how awkward it would have been, to have sent away our fleet from hence, before we had a superiority here without them; and you must remember that my Lord Anson told the Lords the last night, that even now we were not superior by above four ships.

P.S. Might not those ships proposed to be sent away immediately take one Regiment on board them, without any Transports?

CAPTAIN THE HON. AUGUSTUS HERVEY¹ TO MR. FOX.

Defiance, off Minorca. May 25th, 1756.

SIR.

However cautious I shall ever be of intruding on your time, which I know the Public has such a claim too, yet the late action between our Fleet and that of the French's, the 20th of this month off Mahon,² I think, is an event too Important not to take this first opportunity of giving you just a general acc^t of it; and as I have this instant heard a vessell is presently to be dispatch'd away, I shall not let slip the occasion, tho' I have scarce time to write my letter, much less to dwell on particulars, and therefore hope you'll excuse the incorrectness of it.

I joined Adm^l Byng and his Squadron the 17th of this month off Majorca, where I had been kept by two French Men of War 15 Days, after having escaped from the whole Fleet, 5 of which chased me, and the next day a 54 gunship chased me 6 Hours in my way from Ville Franche, from which place I wrote to you, Sir. I confirm'd to the Adm^l the Intelligence he had had of the French Fleet being off Mahon, and gave him the certain acc^{ts} of their being 17,000 men ashore, and the Castle invested; as also how impracticable I thought any attempt w^d prove to throw in any succours, as I had not heard of their having secured any proper place for a Communication. So difficult was it, that I c^d not get any one to carry a Packett to the Gen^l at Mahon for

¹ Afterwards third Earl of Bristol (1724-1779), son of John, Lord Hervey. He secretly married the notorious Elizabeth Chudleigh, who as Duchess of Kingston was prosecuted for bigamy.

² Byng, finding the French besieging Port Mahon on his arrival off Minorca, engaged the French fleet in indecisive conflict, and sailed off to Gibraltar to seek reinforcements, leaving the garrison to their fate.

400 Dllrs that I myself offer'd. However the 19th we were off Mahon. I was sent with two other Frigates a head to endeavour at landing a letter, as well as to make observations; but the French Fleet appeared, and we were called off before this Service could be performed as effectually as the Adm^l had order'd and I c^d have wished. The two Fleets were out at too great a distance to form and meet that day with the little wind there was, and therefore could only reconnoitre, and endeavour to gain the advantage of the wind of each other for the next morning, which we did. I offer'd myself (being in an old Frigate) for a Fireship to the Adm^l, if wanted to board, which accepting I fitted her in the best manner we could, without hurting her as a Frigate if not wanted, and I had the satisfaction to find her sufficiently prepared for execution. The next morning, the 20th, was very hazy; we took a Tartan with 100 and odd troops sent the ev'ning before with several others from their camp at Mahon to reinforce the French Fleet; but this was the only one that fell in our Hands. The Fleet came in sight in a line, ours form'd the Line a head, theirs endeavouring to gain and we to keep the wind; at last they gave up, and laid waiting to Leeward in a very regular line, twelve very large ships, and five Frigates. To do them Justice, their Evolutions and Manœuvre was all very good and regularly militaire. The Engagement began about two, by a French ship in the Van firing on Rear Adm^l West, then going down on them with His Second, Mr Edgcumbe; The Adm^l going directly down on his ship, who he very soon closed and drove very fairly out of the Line, and who as he run was fired at above 50 shot by his own Adm^l. The Van of the Enemy felt themselves pressed and bore up also, but their Adm^l very wisely seeing their error, as well as that our ships were cripled, bore down also and still kept closing his Line again with them that might be said to have fled; and indeed in the end rallied them, so as in the ev'ning to be new forming his Line. Some of our ships by bearing so immediately down were soon cripled (as that was what the French most aimed at, and indeed attained too), and the *Intrepide* of 64 Guns was so much so, and lay so ungovernable that unfortunately she drove on the ships astern of her, who in the Smoke and Hurry laid all aback to avoid her falling on board them; and so on to the next, and the next, and by this cluster obliged the Adm^l for some minutes himself to back, which misfortune of the *Intrepide's* gave the enemies' Center an advantage, that they did not intirely reap the fruits of, more than by making sail and edging away to close their van that Fled, and giving their fire as they pass'd our disabled ships in the Van. Our Adm^l very soon clos'd his Van, and tho' he kept bearing down

on the Enemy, yet they kept away so much, and sailing three feet to our one, that 'twas impossible to close them again, which they w^d never let us do scarce the whole time, and always keeping off as we Joined, and firing to dismast us. Three or four of our ships being much cripled, one intirely out, and the engagement having ceased about six o'clock, it grew too late to renew without giving the ennemy a certain advantage. The Adm^l tacked in such a manner, as lay himself between the ennemy and those ships that had suffer'd most, as well as to keep the wind and cover the *Intrepide*, quite disabled; and soon after brought too, the French in sight, where we have lain ever since to refitt our ships as well as we could: 'till yesterday a Council of War was called, after the State and Condition of the Fleet was given in, which was laid before the Council, and as 'twas thought impossible with ever so great a Victory to relieve Minorca, and not even to land Succours where they are invested by 17,000 men, could we have spared the Regiment that is on board for the Service of the Fleet, and which indeed are very sickly, it was by land and sea unanimously thought highly necessary to go for Gibraltar, as that garrison is threatned after the taking Mahon. I hope with all my heart we shall find stores at Gibraltar from England, and if we have a Reinforcement out of six Sail, we shall shortly be able to recover the Command of the Mediterranean, which they have now got Possession of to the great Detriment, if not Destruction of all our Trade; as I believe it will not be thought possible to spare or venture any ships for Convoys, while they have a fleet certainly superior to ours in force, and by all accounts were to be reinforced by four sail of the line ready many days since to sail from Toulon. We have many sick and wounded in the Fleet, scarce a ship that if we were to begin again but must now go to action some 40, 60, or 80 men less than they did before, when they were all short, and no Hospital ship to put them in. Masts totally disabled, no Port to refitt of ours within 180 Lg^s. Every one here calls out loudly on the manner this Fleet was sent and how late, how equiped, no Storeship, no stores, no Hospitalship, no Fireship, nor no Tender. The Council of War had liked to have ran into very strong Reasons for their Resolutions, but the Admiral put a stop by saying to the Rear and other Gentlemen he only wanted their Sentiments by which he might direct his own, but w^d not suffer no implication of any Reflections on any office of the Governments. So it all ended. We hope to see a reinforcement, and if it was to join us shortly I hope we should yet go back to action.

I am almost affraid of sending this long letter, and therefore will

endeavour to mend the fault by not employing more of your time, Sir, in assuring you of the Respect,

with which, I am,

Sir, your most faithful

& obliged humble Serv^t,

A. HERVEY.

Mr. Byng has been so good as to give me the Command of the *Defiance*, poor Capⁿ Andrews being killed in action. He has taken Mr. Buckner, just made a Lieu^t, to be on his ship, which some days ago he told me he s^{ld} do on y^r recommendation and the Duke of Richmond's, which he sh^d ever prefer to most others. Forgive this.

LADY HERVEY¹ TO MR. FOX.

Mellerstein. The 7th of Aug., 1756.

I am sure, my dear S^r, I must always acknowledge the receipt of every thing that is kind and friendly from you. How gratefully I feel it, I can't and I think it is needless for me to express; were it possible for me to prove it, nothing nor no consideration on earth cou'd or shou'd prevent it. I have wrote to Augustus, and have given him the best, indeed the only advice I cou'd give him, which is to make use of nothing but truth in justification of his unhappy friend,² as all fallacys and exaggerations can only hurt the man and the cause he wishes to serve. But not to employ his utmost powers with truth to vindicate his friend, is what I can neither advise or wish; on the contrary I wou'd excite him to it, as it is what on a like occasion I wou'd do myself at all hazzards and perils; and so the best friend I have in the world shall find, if ever there is occasion for it, which on *his* account (why shou'd I not plainly say on *yours*) I hope will never happen; but if it shou'd, here it is under my hand, and keep it I beg of you. I have spirit and Courage to make it good, tho' fortune and life were both concerned. These are perilous times, my dear S^r, God knows what may happen; the suffering,

¹ Mary Lepell, widow of John, Lord Hervey, and mother of the writer of the preceding letter.

² Admiral Byng, who was in custody pending a court-martial upon him for his conduct in the naval battle off Minorca.

perhaps even encouraging a mob to declare they will *have* or otherways *do* themselves what they call justice, is not only the most wicked but the most weak and dangerous thing imaginable. If they are supported or allowed to make such insolent, illegal declarations, who knows whose turn may be next. I have heard of a very extraordinary placard affix'd up at the Exchange and permitted to remain there for several hours; I think it shou'd warn those people, who have it in their power to quell a mob, from suffering them to threaten an innocent man, for such shou'd every one be supposed at least who is not by *Law* proved to be the contrary. I am not quite of the opinion you seem to be with regard to this very unfortunate man, and that not from the biass of Augustus's opinion nor from that his obligations may have given me, but from some circumstances I cannot write. I fear, be it how it will, this poor man must be the scape-Goat. I am sorry for it on his account, I am offended at it for the sake of justice, but I am hurt by it beyond expression as an Englishwoman. I think you are perfectly in the right not to answer Augustus's letter at this time, and so I have told him; if on any other occasion or subject you will some time or other do him the favor to write three or four lines to him, I know him well enough to be sure it wou'd oblige him extremely. He is *un peu fier*, but very grateful in his temper, and where he is attach'd, thoroughly and warmly so: he is very uneasy lest he shou'd lose his ship and the opportunity of serving, if there is an action in the Mediterranean this year, by being sent for home as an evidence; and on the other hand, as he thinks he can be a material one, he is very earnest to do his friend that piece of service. In short, he is under the greatest anxiety and concern imaginable. He earnestly wishes to perform some action d'éclat; but if he must return as an evidence, hopes it may be in his own ship, and the rest of the evidence with him if desired, that he may not lose her as soon as he has got her. Your letter, my dear S^r, by a wrong direction came here two posts later than it shou'd have done. I send you therefore a proper one, in desiring you'll direct to me at *Mellerstein, near Kelsoe, in Scotland, by Berwick bag*. I must beg of you to send my letter for me to Augustus, and I have left it open that you may see the advice I have given him. Seal it, and give it with my compliments to Ld Bateman, who will be so kind I am sure to send it by the very first opportunity. Adieu, my dear S^r, my best wishes will ever attend you, and every proof of them that you will make me so happy as to enable me to give you.

Here is a whole family, whose wishes and esteem sincerely attend you.

Aug. the 8th.

I dined yesterday at Ld M——t's, where I picked up several things, some purposely said and others heedlessly let drop in the warmth of conversation by the two brothers, that let me see that not only poor B—— is to suffer, right or wrong, but that even Bl——y¹ is to be robbed of the good opinion people have of him and of his gallant defence; and all, I suppose, that the loss of M——a may not be imputed to the delay in sending out the fleet. They said he might well have held out a month longer. Many things I collected from what they said, but cannot guess what it was that brought Mr. H. C——l down into this Country in such a hurry, for he was but three days on the road, and a week ago his brother said he was not to be here at all, he being so much wanted in town at this juncture, especially since M——y² was to be prefer'd.

I was just going to seal up my letter when they brought me in your's, dear S^r, of the third, for which I am very much obliged to you. Le Capitaine Giraud and his *Second* cannot expect, nor did Mon^r. Beauval ask, their release but on an exchange of prisoners. All the favor desired was that they might be two of the first exchanged. I have been so lucky as to obtain for Mess^{rs} Selwyn and Foley³ the liberty of continuing their house at Paris in their own names, under the care of a Swiss, who has for some time served them as a sort of first Comis. Thus I have done not quite so much indeed as Miss Cheke,⁴ but enough to make me very happy as well as these gentlemen; which I am persuaded I owe to the kindness you enabled me to show to some Frenchmen; and therefore I thank you for it as the first cause. The news you tell me of Mr. Cope is very shocking, how I pity his poor father; there must be something very wrong in the manner of living at present, some way or other; for these disorders multiply extremely among us. God keep me and all I love from this worst of distempers. The people in this part of the Island are certainly more naturally chearful than those of the Southern part, who have at times a noisy, sudden, transitory sort of mirth, but have not an equal, constant chearfulness, which is the best as well as the most agreeable for one self and others. Poor Byng! I cannot help

¹ General Blakeney, the gallant defender of Port Mahon.

² Murray, the Attorney-General, who was raised to Lord Chief Justiceship in November, becoming Lord Mansfield.

³ Bankers in Paris.

⁴ Miss Check, a friend of the Ilchester family: married Mr. Melliar in 1763.

pitting him. The accident of his brother's death was very shocking to him. Adieu, may you meet with no more blame than you deserve, and if possible with all the rewards and distinction you merit. My best wishes and best Services are devoted to you. I make use of the liberty you give me to send you my lettre to Captain Giraud, who, as well as his Second, Mr. Joseph Forget, I hope you will be so good as to remember when the Cartel is settled.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. FOX.

Claremont. Saturday. 7 o'clock [1756].

DEAR S^R.

I am much obliged to you for the good news you send me. It is so rare at present, that the least appearance of success anywhere is comfortable. I think this may have good consequences; as it tends to weaken the French, where now we must hope to make our chief Impression. I own I can't look upon the attempt upon Louisbourg as entirely chimerical, either this year or the beginning of the next; but if it is so, all succours sent to Nova Scotia must have a good effect, by securing the Isthmus, &c., and by being at Hand for any other operations. I hope therefore the 1,600 men will be sent away forthwith, and Transports order'd for them. You and I will answer for my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Let me entreat you to think seriously of some object; we had better fail in the attempt, than attempt nothing. Nothing but some *attempt* will or can retrieve our situation; all operations must arise from those who alone can judge of their practicability by Sea and Land. For my own part, I think no expence should now be spared; we have gone too far for any consideration of that kind. If the ports in Corsica are to be got by our Fleet, I should be for it; we should have something *in Hand*. And the Behaviour of the Genoese would justify us; and no neutral power (*our Friend*) could really be displeased with us for it. But perhaps we should some way or other give previous notice. I know I am ignorant, and I know I am single in my opinion, but I can never get it out of my Head, but that *some way or other* we may get back Port Mahon. I am sure it is worth trying; and the very Tryal would put an end at once to many Lies upon that head. Why might not Hawke and Tyrawley have orders to fight, if practicable? Tho' I am for trying every thing, I own my chief Dependance is in North America, and to regain Port Mahon by our operations there. To that, therefore, from this moment, I would have our chief attention; send

away those 1,600 men. Let Lord Loudoun know that *Conquests* in N. America is our point; suggest to Him the several objects, Louisbourg, Montreal, Quebec, &c.; send a squadron thither if necessary, and prepare for the spring, if the autumn is too late. Those very preparations now made, wd have their weight during the winter, both at home and abroad. You will wonder that I have troubled you so long without mentioning your letters to Mr. Murray, and Mr. Porter. They are entirely agreeable to the King's orders; and I hope and believe will be attended with no Inconvenience. The Hint given to the Porte to be upon their Guard, carries with it *an Insinuation*, which indeed both France and the Court of Vienna deserve.

As our Meeting at the Duke's on Wensday will be a very material one, I should humbly hope, if any thing or object occurs to any Body, we shall have it consider'd; for, I will repeat it once more, an unsuccessful attempt, if attended with any probability, is better than no attempt at all. In that way we shall go on exhausting ourselves, lowring our Reputation, and be every day further from peace.

I am,

Dear Sr, yr affect. Humble Servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

LADY KILDARE TO MR. FOX.

Carton. Sept. 19 [1756].

What a creature you are! I receive your Letter before a thousand people. A Letter from *Mr. Fox*. Oh! we shall have some news! Every Body waits with impatience till I have read it. I open it with an important face, and then behold it's full of nonsense, and indeed such stuff as is not decent to shew to any creature. You cou'd not write worse to a real Patsy, and, poor Devil that I am, to my sorrow I am not like one in any shape, for I am grown very ugly I can tell you, so don't wonder I am cross. I am glad your Brother is made an Earl.¹ He is a sweet man worth a thousand of you, much better humoured, ten thousand times better bred, much livelier, and I believe full as clever, only that you have a Cunning, Black, devilish countenance, and he has a chearful, pleasant one; you are an ambitious, vain toad, and he likes to live quietly in the country. I told George² Lord Stavordale³ would take

¹ Lord Ilchester had been made an earl in June.

² Her eldest son, Lord Ophaly.

³ Lord Ilchester's eldest son.

place of him ; he says he is before him in learning too, which is much worse. He is a dear little creature, and so is Stump, and tho' I believe it will almost break my heart, I shall let them go to school again the 29th. See how much more resolution I have than you.

I am sorry the poor little Countess is not well. I hear Lady Mary is ill. God forbid she shou'd have the misfortune of losing her too ! I give you leave to be in Love with her, for God knows when I shall ever be with you again, and it's only when we are together that I don't like you shou'd give her the preference, which is a mortification I fear I shall not be in the way of having a great while. This Excellency-ship, my D^r Mr. Fox, is a sad thing. We shall never go to England, and then his fidgetting to town twice every week is so uncomfortable ! But no more of this. Adieu.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

St Petersburg. y^e 28th Sep^r. N.S. 1756.

MY DEAREST FRIEND.

From the moment the news came here of the King of Prussia's march into Saxony, The Empress woud hear no more of any thing that coud tye her hands from assisting the King of Poland and the Empress Queen.¹ I recd my answer, or rather my no answer. And what is meant by Gallitzin's negotiation, and our Court's desiring it might be at London, I cant tell.

They may talk here, but they cant march ; certainly not this year, I think not the next, If the King of Prussia keeps but a small army in Prussia. What a stroke Has he struck ! A bold one to be sure, I think a wise one ; Charles the twelvth's temerity and Turenne's Prudence. If He gets out of the scrape, He will surpass all Heroes ! He will certainly beat the Austrians if He meets them, and He will push his Conquests till he forces the Empress Queen to a Peace. But I fear France will take this opportunity to enter Germany ; and how the King [of] Prussia intends to guard against that blow I cant tell.

My Health thank God is better, and my Strength returnd. Your scheme

¹ The recent alliance between France and Austria, concluded at Versailles in May, and the treaty between England and Prussia in the preceding January, had entirely altered the balance of power in Europe. Russia was suspicious of Frederick the Great's motives, and not without reason, for in July, putting forward the Austrian military preparations as an excuse, he marched against Dresden, which he captured, and defeated the Saxons and Austrians on October 1 at Lobositz.

for getting more help for the Duke of Newcastle is certainly a right one. I suppose you mean Mr. Pitt. I am much surpris'd to hear of the difference in the Royal Family; am I to live to see three breaches in it? What can the Prince and Princess of Wales mean? Will they fly in the King's face without provocation. He can as yet have given them none, Tho I know that the Princess had allways a mind to give her Niece (the young Princess of Saxe-Gotha) to her son, and I believe was very averse to the Brunswick match.¹

I wish you Success, I'm sure you'll gain honor in the next Session. I shall be glad to hear that Pitt is in Place. He will make things go easier.

I have wrote a very Serious letter to Lady Essex,² but what can I say when I have letters perpetually from her and her Lord to tell me how happy they are, and the last from Fanny says that she is now upon a very good foot with the Dowager. I was affraid the Scheme of making one family in the Country woud not hold. God Protect my Child, I wish I was in England for her sake.

The life I lead here is a very odd one. I grow very learned or at least ought to do so, for I do nothing but read and write. I live in a vast Palace entirely alone, and have no Visitors but some English Merch^{ts}, who come not often, and the Great Russians when I give a great dinner, but never else for one of them must not come alone. I could write as curious secret History of this Country, and as entertaining as ever you read. The North does not freeze the blood; tis boiling Hot here, and there are some very handsome women. I often dont see a Soul in a week, and go out a airing by way of Diversion. The Court nights are very full of constraint and last four hours. The Empress is still handsome, and must have been excessively pretty. The Great Duchess is Di West in handsome, and is very Clever.

I rejoyce when I hear that all your Family are well and give you such satisfaction. No man wishes you more than I do. If Lady Caroline ever mentions me, tell her that I have ever esteem'd and honord her from the day of her marriage.

Woud you believe that I like living alone? Indeed the Company that I

¹ When the Prince of Wales obtained his majority, the King offered him a large allowance, and a suite of apartments separate from his mother. The first proposal was accepted, the latter, which was not in accordance with the King's wishes, rejected; and a further request from the Prince to be allowed to appoint Lord Bute as his groom of the stole, was equally distasteful to His Majesty.

² Sir Charles's daughter, Frances, who married William, fourth Earl of Essex, in 1754. She died in 1759.

see here makes me like it. My Wishes often transport me to Cashiobury and Holland House; I believe I must take a House at Harrow to be between both. In one of my airings tother day I was surprisd to find myself inspird, and I made an ode to Charlot against Poetesses. It wants a little alteration, and then you shall have it first. I have been much entertaind with many of Madame Maintenon's letters. If Lady Caroline has not read them, I recommend them to her. If any thing good comes out, pray send it me. I have read an Essay upon the life and writings of Pope, that I like. Who wrote it?

My letters to you will allways conclude with my most fervent wishes for your health and happiness, and the most sincere assurances of my being unalterably, Dear Sir,

y^r devoted friend

& Servant,

C. HANBURY WILLIAMS.

I have given up all hopes of hearing from Rigby, but I shall ever love him.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE¹ TO MR. FOX.

Wednesday. Oct^r 15, 1756.

11 o'clock.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I just now receiv'd your Letter by the messenger.² That part which relates to yourself gives me real concern, and at the same time must confess that I cannot in the least disapprove of your conduct on this occasion. It was allways my wish that the King's affairs might be carried on by the Persons that are at present concern'd in the management of them, and I once flatter'd myself that there might have been a tolerable harmony and union among the Persons concern'd. Those hopes have long since vanishd, and I own I have had my apprehensions y^t you woud find yourself necessitated to take the step you have done. The Friendship and good opinion I have allways had of you, has made me wish to see you in a situation that woud be agreeable and honourable to you; and for the same reason I can not wish to have you continue in a Post, when you cannot appear in it with that credit and honour which your own situation requires. I like the manner in which you propose to state your case to Lady Yarmouth; your offer of carrying on H.M's

¹ Lord Hartington had succeeded his father in the titles in the previous December.

² Announcing his resolution to resign office.

affairs in y^e House of Commons during this Session is a very handsome one, and ought to have it's due weight with the King. I am sure, whenever it comes to be known, it must do you credit in the world. As to my Advice, I shall allways be ready to give it you to the best of my understanding such as it is, but I am sure the advice you will take will be better than any I can give. The only thing I can wish (and I believe you are of the same opinion) is, never to suffer any ill usage to drive you into opposition or to enter into engagements with those that are out of humour as well as yourself. I don't apprehend my coming up can be of any use, but if His Royal Highness or you shou'd think so, I shall very chearfully set out upon the first Notice. You know my regard for you, and the sincerity with which, I am

Y^r most faithfull Friend,

DEVONSHIRE.

I congratulate you on the K. of Prussia's victory,¹ the consequence of which I hope will be advantageous to us. I am going to Chatsworth where I shall be ready to receive y^r commands. My engagements, I am afraid, will not permit me to comply with Ld Shelborne's request.

DUKE OF BEDFORD TO MR. FOX.

Bath. Oâ. 14th, 1756.

DEAR S^r.

Lord Digby² was so kind as to call upon me yesterday morning to communicate to me the contents of the letter he had just then received from you, with an account of the victory obtained by the King of Prussia, and some anecdotes in relation to the present state of domestic affairs at Court. The impracticability of the Duke of Newcastle towards any good advice that might be given him by his Friends, for withdrawing himself, and by that means this country, out of certain ruin, great as I am convinced it was before this last event, is certainly much heightened by it, and I know the genius of the Man so well, that I am sure, in the excess of his joy, he thinks both this Country and his power in it out of any possible danger. As I think very differently from him, both with regard to the one and the other, I dread the consequences this inflexibility of his Grace against the only wise measure that

¹ At Lobositz.

² Edward, sixth Lord Digby, had succeeded his grandfather in 1752.

now remains for him to take, viz. of quitting his employments, may have as well upon the King's service as upon yourself and those very few honest Ministers who are engaged in it. For to come to the point freely with you (which I take the liberty of now doing, upon the wishes you expressed in your letter to Lord Digby, of having an opportunity of talking over these matters with me), what part are you to take in the ensuing Session, should the Duke of Newcastle be rash enough to think himself able to weather the Storm and to keep himself at the head of affairs, w^{ch} he and those under him have so shamefully mismanaged? Can it be eligible or even safe for you to support almost singly in the House of Commons those measures, which have been proved by the event to have been destructive ones, and which, had your advice been followed, would not have been pursued? On the other hand, can you, whilst you continue Secretary of State, be at liberty to evince to the publick the fatal consequences that have followed the measures that have been hitherto taken, and the destructive tendency of any others, that may be hereafter proposed, upon the same unsteady and inconsistent principles which have hitherto prevailed? As I should, if I had been able to have had the pleasure of meeting you, have mentioned to you the difficulties I think I foresee you will meet with in Parliament in the course of this Sessions, provided the Duke of Newcastle and you should still continue unfortunately linked together, I will endeavour to put on paper those thoughts, which I should, with more ease to myself and perspicuity, I believe, to you, have mentioned in the course of our conversation. I think the conduct of Mr. Bing and the loss of Minorca will, in the first place, take up the attention of the publick, in which I am convinced, the Duke of Newcastle, &c., will endeavour their utmost to hamper you; for tho' I fear the Admiral cannot justify his conduct in the action off Mahon, yet I think such plausible things may be said in his favour, to the disadvantage of the Admiralty (who doubtless have been greatly to blame for the sending out an insufficient force, and that too late, notwithstanding they had been warned by yourself, as well as others, of the danger attending Minorca), as may make your taking a warm part against Mr. Bing, in case he should appear to have been personally shy against the enemy, and a like one in the defence of those who sent him (both unwilling and unable to fight them), incongruous and inconsistent. For tho' the Officer who has not done his duty to the utmost in the day of battle cannot be too severely punished, yet that part of the Administration in whose department it is, cannot justly, upon the same principle of example to others, upon which

the Admiral shall be condemned, escape the severest censure, for sending out a force, which till it's junction with Commodore Edgcumbe was manifestly insufficient (and which is now pleaded as an excuse for the Vice-Admiral's conduct), and that force so late, when it was in their power to have sent out a much greater, and in time to have prevented the French even landing on the Island. Will it be possible for you in this case, whilst you continue in employment, to give up to censure so considerable a part of the executive Administration as the board of Adm^{ty}, particularly connected as the head of it is to the Chancellour? But could you even in this point excuse the Admiralty, upon the principle of the danger that might have attended this country last spring, when the foreign troops were not yet arrived nor the new Regiments raised, by sending a very great force into the Mediterranean; and upon the dangerous influence the unguarding our Coasts at that time might have had upon publick credit, yet I think your patronizing in Parliament their conduct since that time would be both impolitick and unpopular. For what have we been doing with our fleet this Summer, but endeavouring to hedge in the Cuckow, which, as must always be the case, we have been utterly unable to effect? For many ships and forces have been stole away from y^e different Ports of France to America, and with this additional disadvantage, that whilst we are wearing out our ships and sailors by keeping the French fleet within their harbours, they are, without any waste of men or ships, getting themselves into a condition of being able to drive us off their coasts in a very short time. Besides all this, the bad condition the Navy board have left what was in their department at Gibraltar will be laid to the charge of the Admiralty; and without entering into many more particulars, the unfair and infamous practise of manning the fleet, the illegal pressings, and many other things, have rendered that board as now governed obnoxious to the whole nation; and I own, it will give me great concern to see you obliged to justify in Parliament their past conduct.

I am likewise apprehensive that our affairs in North America are in so bad a situation, and so little can be expected at present from the small force Lord Loudoun has with him, that much discontent will be shewn, both with regard to the smallness of the succours sent and their going so late from hence, that very little fruit can be expected from them this year; and indeed by what I have been informed from pretty good authority, I fear the raising the foreign part of the Royal Americans, by taking into it French Prisoners of war, calling themselves Protestants, must be productive of the worst

consequences, and increase the jealousy of those who first opposed the raising that Regiment to a great degree. This naturally brings me to consider how the foreign Troops now amongst us are looked upon by the Nation in general; and I must freely own to you that my opinion coincides in that with the general cry of the nation, particularly ever since the lettre de cachet, sent by the Earl of Holderness to the Mayor of Maidston, to release the Hanoverian soldier that was committed to prison for a civil offence. Surely the Nation will never suffer, even in the greatest necessity, the security of their lives and properties to be at the decision of a Hanoverian or Hessian Court Martial, much less at a time when doubtless our national force is more than sufficient to secure us from even an alarm of invasion. For my own part, I think myself obliged to declare that in case this doctrine of the Hessians and Hanoverians not being lyable to the civil jurisdiction of the laws of this Country in civil cases shall be held good, I am determined to do all in my power, as an individual, for their removal from hence. The Militia bill, which the Administration so imprudently rejected last year in the house of Lords, and of which they made so infamous a handle to disgust the King in relation to your conduct in the house of Commons, seems now likely to be forced down their throats; and indeed the present situation of Europe seems to require something of this nature, as, by almost all our old Allies on the Continent quitting us, we seem to be necessitated to be continually much more armed than we were ever obliged to be in former times; and I think it will not be difficult to prove, to those who are for putting their chief confidence in a regular, numerous standing Army, that that can never be done with safety to the liberties of this Country, without having a well regulated and numerous Militia at the same time, which would be of weight and assistance to the Army against a foreign invader, and would be a check upon that Army, should any part of it ever be modelled and corrupted enough to serve the ends of an ambitious King or bad Ministers.

There is but one more very material thing occurs to me at present, which I think will be agitated in Parliament, and that is, Why, when all danger of invasion was over (^{w^{ch}} I believe has been for some months), so great a body of Troops, most of which have been incamped all the summer, have been left unemployed, and not sent somewhere or other to attack the Enemy in some part where an impression might be made, as it cannot be presumed they are invulnerable everywhere. The expences of these unactive Campaigns upon the Downs and Heaths of England, the Transports kept in pay, the Fleets in the

Mediterranean and in the Bay of Biscay, where they have no enemy to encounter, are as expensive and ruinous to the Nation, without offending the enemy the least, as offensive measures would be, which, if carryed on with spirit and with the force we have now in our hands, would in all probability be the means of bringing them to reasonable terms of Accommodation.

Saturday, 16th. Thus far had I wrote before I received Mr. Rigby's letter of the 14th, and the communication Lord Digby has just now made me of your letter to him of the same date. I did design to mention, but that very cursorily, the ill usage I thought you had met with, as well from your Master as his Ministers; but as that must have had its weight with you, only in proportion as it gave you more or less uneasiness, I thought nobody but yourself could judge what influence it should have upon you, and consequently no one could have any right to intrude his advice upon you. I was once in doubt whether (upon the receipt of Mr. Rigby's letter to-day) I should trouble you or not with this long letter, but upon consideration that it will inform you of my real opinion of publick affairs, and that it may account for the steps I may find myself obliged to take in the ensuing Sessions, in case the Duke of Newcastle and you should still go on together, I determined to send it. Before I conclude it quite, give me leave to suggest, after having given my opinion in y^e foregoing pages what in prudence I think you should not do, what I think you should and may do, and that is, in case the Duke of Newcastle should continue inflexible and determine to bury himself and his Country in one common ruin, get out of the danger as soon as possible, and connect yourself, if that can be brought about, with Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons; which I am convinced would give such a shock to the present Administration they could not possibly withstand, and would bring the King's affairs into such hands as might yet possibly retrieve this country from utter ruin, and put honour, profit, and power into those hands, in which not only I, but the whole Nation, wish to see them placed. All which I think might be easily effected, without jealousy or competition betwixt you two, by each taking that department w^{ch} I believe would be most agreeable to you both, I mean you the Treasury, and him the Seals. You may possibly think the Bath waters have turned my head when I chalk out such Utopian schemes, which every body must approve of, and which few think can be carryed into execution. All I have to say for myself is, that in desperate times, strong (I won't say desperate) measures must be attempted, and I write this to you in full confidence of your Friendship, which I think myself

Walpole to Fox

entitled to, as there is no one more sincerely wishes you than myself increase of weight and power and the first place in the Administration. Believe me, dear S^r,

Your most faithfull

humble Servant,

BEDFORD.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO MR. FOX.

Wednesday night. [October 27, 1756.]

DEAR S^r.

I sent to Holland house, but they told me you dined in town and was not expected home till very late.

After what you know this morning, it would be impertinent in me to tell you what I heard. I only trouble you with this, to apprize you of one thing which you certainly ought to know. The K., Lady Y., and the Chancellor are persuaded that you wou'd not take the Treasury. I shoud hope you had made no such resolution. You may depend upon this Information.

I know another very particular circumstance, which not being immediately necessary, I shoud chuse not to put upon paper; but if you will give me leave, I will see you in the evening and tell it you.

Is it worth y^r knowing that the D. of N. yesterday (Tuesday) told my Lord Orford that he was going out?

I am,

most truly yours,

H. W.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Woburn. Sunday Night. [November 28, 1756.]

MY DEAR MR. FOX.

I send you this letter inclosed to my servant in London, because he is to receive your answer if you will dine at my house in Leicester Fields on wednesday; and if you will, The Duke of Bedford, who goes from hence that day, will come to us there after dinner. I shall therefore ask no body to meet us but Harris, who we can send away, or do as we please with. His Grace will be glad to see you, his real magnus Apollo, the first person he meets in Town, and therefore approves of my House, where there can be no

interruption, and is extremely dispos'd to take the part we wish him to do: indeed I make no doubt but he has concluded upon it.¹ He is convinc'd, and has desir'd me to tell you so, that you act'd as became you with relation to Stockbridge.² The post was gone from hence before I got here on friday, or I shou'd have told you so, as I promis'd, immediately upon conversing with him; and I shou'd at y^e same time have added as his opinion, that other hostile measures with regard to their elections, where you had not a personal interest, you had better let alone. Don't think that I am chang'd, or that it is my opinion. Indeed I am not like many other of your friends, who upon this occasion have thought that if by your passive obedience you answer their purposes, you act extremely right. If I subscribe to that doctrine, it is because where I am concern'd, you have desir'd it, and not because I relish it.

The Duke of Bedford bids me tell you Sir Geo. Lyttelton has nam'd Pitt for Okehampton, so there remains no objection to his being chose.

I sha'nt go from hence till wednesday morning, shall be in Town early, and hope to see you at four o'clock, which is the answer you are to give to y^e Bearer.

My best comp^{ts} attend Lady Caroline, from

Y^r most affectionate and sincere,

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. WELBORE ELLIS TO MR. FOX.

Saturday. Dec^r 11th, 1756.

MY DEAR HARRY.

I have lived very much within my own walls, and as I had nothing to say, did not trouble you by Thurday's Post, having written to you by Tuesday's, but I went out this morning on purpose to try whether anything was stirring to furnish out a letter. I was informed by a person of great distinction, who sees familiarly the new Sec.,³ that he had enquired when

¹ Fox was attempting to persuade the Duke of Bedford to take the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and in the end was successful.

² Fox opposed the election of Dr. Hay, one of the new Admiralty Board, for Stockbridge, in which borough he had purchased an interest. He was amazed that the Administration should expect him to appoint their nominee without even approaching him, and showed his teeth accordingly.

³ Pitt.

motions for Papers were to be made, and that his answer was, "Indeed I don't know; I have not heard anything of that matter yet. I certainly shall before any motion be made, but I shou'd think some days must pass, for I shall not be in the House till some days after it meets."

I was going to visit the military Lord, the friend of the person whose sentiments I mentioned in my last, and which (I then told you) I suspected to be similar to his. I met him in the street, and we went into the Park. I did not mention your name or lead him to the subject, but rather chose to leave it to his own choice whether he wou'd open on that matter. He, after one turn, asked after you, and whether I had heard from you. I say'd, no. Then say'd he, "He will certainly recollect himself and return soon to Parl^t. He is a wise and an able man, and I take for granted thought he had good reasons for doing what he seem'd determined upon. I say determined, because I take for granted that all his friends (if he talk'd upon it with them) must have been against it. There is but one way of thinking about it; it was a hasty step taken when he was warm, but he has had too good Sense to pursue it. His place is *here*, and to wait for Events; his situation is difficult and requires great temper, great attention, and ability, but he has more of them than any one else. Such a loose fabrick, as the present is, shou'd be attended. If he stays six weeks he may as well stay six months; one may put cases for an hour wherein his presence might be material; if he shews Despondency every one will despond for him. If indeed he means to give up all thoughts of publick business, then this scheme of absence is intelligible; less time of absence will wean men's Eyes from the habit of looking for him and to him in the House, and in less than six weeks it will be the same thing as if he had been really dead. Now, say the truth, don't you think there is something in what I say? Don't you wish him here?" All this came out in these Sentences entrecoupés, which is his manner of talking in common conversation, and was not interrupted by me. I answer'd that Question, that his Lordship's opinion and what I had heard from others agreeing with it, made me certainly wish him here, as those opinions were reasons sufficient for that wish, but I cou'd not say what he shou'd do if he was here. "Nor I neither," say'd he, "unless I cou'd tell you what the events will be, but I am sure I wou'd have him here to wait those events, for some important ones for him must necessarily arise, and opportunitys are lost before a man can be brought up an hundred miles." This conversation I thought it material that you shou'd know. Your friend in Han^r Square told me he found all who wished

you well, or who even pretended to wish you well, of one opinion, that you ought not to be absent. I am but a faithful relater of what I hear, without interposing an opinion of my own. The sick Lady continues to mend, and the learned think there is no danger at present.

Our best compliments attend Lady Car. Adieu.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO MR. FOX.

[End of December.] 1756.

DEAR SIR.

By your note I imagined that I should find you at home, and came hither to prevent y^r having the trouble of coming to Arlington street. I agree entirely in thinking that the paper to which you do too much honour, and which the world will certainly treat very differently, will do better in Dodsley's paper, and I don't see how he can with any decency refuse it.¹ I am sensible too of the great incorrectness of it, and could easily mend it; I left it exactly as I sent it to Lady Caroline, to prove that it was, what it really was, a genuine, careless letter. It would be hard if I could not make it better, when I have known the subject eight years longer! I w^d call tomorrow morning on you, but my Brother sends his Daughters at twelve to breakfast with me, and whatever I might think, he would not allow any engagement to be of greater consequence. I will therefore hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at eleven.

y^{rs} ever,

H. W.

SIR C. HANBURY-WILLIAMS TO MR. FOX.

St. Petersburg.² Febr. 15th. N.S. 1757.

DEAR SIR.

Your Letter of the 26th December came safe to my Hands, and I thank you very heartily for remembering an old Friend in so kind a manner. And as I flatter myself that you are one of the Persons who will be most glad to see me at my return to England, I must tell you that my Revocation was

¹ This refers to a sketch of Fox's character, sent to Lady Caroline in 1748. The original is among the Waller MSS. The "character" was printed in an extraordinary number of *The World*, December 1756: and reprinted in *The Works of Lord Orford*, i, 190.

² Sir Charles had taken up the post of Ambassador to the Russian Court in 1755, and remained there two years.

granted me in the most kind and gracious manner. But I am sorry to tell you what is serious and ridiculous at the same time, which is, that my Disorder is fallen into my Legs, particularly into my left Leg, so that when I have just got the King's leave to go away from hence, I have no Legs to go upon.

All I shall say about Politicks is, that I am truly concerned that any jealousies or Prevention should deprive the King of so able a Servant as you are. I am rejoiced that the Duke of Bedford and you are so perfectly well together, and I am pleased as well as you can be with Rigby's good Fortune. I always loved him, and cannot help thinking that his Post of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland will make him a Man of Business.

As far as I see, which is not very far, I cannot be of your opinion that if things do not hold as they are at present they cannot break into anything that would alter your present Situation. If Mr. Pitt's Health or any other accident should make it impossible for him to attend the Business of the House, there is not one man in England but yourself capable of being at the Helm of it; for as to Mr. Legge and Mr. Grenville, the parts of neither of them are of the first Rate. Legge's are about the second, and Grenville's not of the third.

You ask me to send you a *Test* or two.¹ You know your Power over me, and I certainly will attempt the Task; tho' I have no more notion of writing about Politicks at a Distance by Information than I have of drawing a likeness by Description. I will endeavour to finish one by this Day Seven-night and send it to you, but do not expect anything good, for neither my Health nor Spirits will furnish it, and nothing but your Desire could make me think of undertaking anything of that sort. I must own I am sincerely glad that the Majority in the House of Commons is so prudent as not to distress the King's affairs, tho' they dislike his Ministers; and indeed the bending under the yoke of Legge and Grenville shews a most patriotic Patience and Submission. I have heard that Mr. Pitt once said that the King might have as well sent his Jack-boot to govern the House of Commons as Sr Thomas Robinson. If you will allow me to pun, I will say that I would rather be govern'd by the King's Boot than by Mr. Pitt's Legge. I dare not,

¹ *The Test* was a weekly newspaper issued by the Whigs with a view to assail Ministers and their followers. Fox was reputed, probably incorrectly, to have a hand in its production. He was now without office, having been proscribed by Pitt, although his friend Devonshire was the nominal head of the Administration. It is most improbable that the articles for which Fox asked were intended for publication. His suggestion was that Williams should employ his spare time by writing on similar lines for the edification of his friends. (See Stowe MSS., 263.)

in a Letter, tell you my opinion of the Duke of Devonshire's Behavior. I am charmed with the Duke of Bedford's, and I lately wrote him a Letter of Congratulation upon his new Employment. At this Distance, I really think that Legge's Cunning has done more real Harm than ought to be in the Power of such a Man to do. I should imagine that Mr. Pitt's Health must soon call for your Help, and Merchants here, who receive Letters out of the City, tell me that your Junction with him is talk'd of much at present.

I hope that the Bath Waters have had their usual good effect upon Lady Caroline, and that I shall find her in such good Health as I wish she may always enjoy.

I am much obliged to you for all your Goodness to Lady Essex; be assured that she has a thorough Esteem for you, and never misses telling me with Pleasure of every visit you make Her. I hear she has the Honour at present of being in great Favour with Prince Edward; and that He is very assiduous about Her at the Drawing-room and the Play House; both Lord Essex and herself seem mightily pleased with it. Fanny's Behavior to me since my being out of England has been perfectly good and affectionate; and tho' she is, as I hear, become a very fine Lady, yet she has never miss'd one week writing me the most kind and entertaining Letters I ever read; and thank God, both by her own and her Lord's account, there never was a happier Couple than they are.

If I was in Health and Spirits in England and meddled in political writings, my attack should be as much against a Favorite as a Minister; and I own my future prospects of the Interior of my Country is a very alarming one to me.

I am now certain that I shall return to England next summer; and if you and my Health allow me, I shall spend the greatest part of it between Cashibury and Holland House; and if you go to Maddington, I will certainly be of the Party. I hope these Visions will prove true; tho' my Health and Spirits are still very low, and my Stomach, without being so much out of order as formerly, does not make a right Digestion of what I eat. Out of the seventeen months I have been here, I have been confined to my House at least nine.

What a Scene we are to expect upon the Continent next Summer! Nothing but Revenge is breathed upon the King of Prussia from the three most important Quarters of Europe; and his Encounters with some of his Enemies will be as bloody as Vengeance and Self-Preservation can make

Hanbury-Williams to Fox

them. The attempt to assassinate the King of France must keep that Country for some time under a great Consternation, and many parts of the Interior of it are in great misery. One of the effects to be dreaded from the present Wars of Europe is a Famine; for everywhere the price of Corn is excessive.

Your telling me that you never doubted one moment of my Friendship and Attachment to you is really doing me Justice; and your assuring me that my love is not lost upon you, does me more good than you can imagine. My most sincere Services attend Lady Caroline. The greatest Truth that ever I spoke in my Life is the assurance I now repeat to you, of my being with the strongest Friendship and an unalterable attachment,

Yours, C. H-W.

P.S. I am surprised beyond expression at a Letter I received from Harris: it consists of a folio sheet, wrote in an excellent Hand. Some Quotations properly apply'd, the Stile easy and intelligible, and not one Flower or Figure in the whole Letter. In short, it is a Letter that a Child might comprehend, and a Man of Sense admire. I shall answer it soon.

MR. FOX TO EARL OF ILCHESTER.¹

Fryday. March 4, 1757.

PITT and Lord Temple have behav'd so insolently to the King, distress'd and tormented Him so about Bing's case, that He is determin'd they shall remain no longer.² They have behav'd like such egregious Fools, that they are more unpopular than ever they were popular. I have been sent to, to know whether I would not act with the D. of Newcastle to rescue H.M., and order'd to draw out a Scheme of a new administration upon that foot. Were I to be in the administration, the D. of Newcastle can not alter his nature, and in two months it would be the same case as in November last. My Project avoids this; it is a new part that I have assign'd to myself, but it is one that I feel I could act well. I propose that the D. of Newcastle should be Minister for England, the D. of Bedford for Ireland, the Duke of Argyll

¹ Melbury MSS.

² Tiring of Pitt, the King secretly invited Fox on March 7 to form an Administration. Temple and Pitt were dismissed early in April, to the great disgust of the public. For three months the country remained without a definite Ministry. Various attempts on the part of Fox to form a government proved fruitless; but finally Newcastle and Pitt succeeded in adjusting their differences, and took office at the end of June.

for Scotland, professedly and independently. The D. of Devonshire, who will not remain Minister (if He would, it were best of all), will be Master of the Horse again. I will have some Security, either by Peerage to Lady Caroline or Pension or Reversion, against the next Reign, and be Paymaster in this. The management of the Members of the House of Commons and the Distribution of favours shall be entirely in the D. of Newcastle, the management of Debates in me. I wish'd Lord George Sackville might be Secretary of State, but He has foolishly gone to Pitt. However I still would offer it, and believe He would accept it. I would have Ch^s Townshend, who has left his Brother and Pitt, Sec^r at War. I would have Lord Halifax first Lord of Admiralty, and Lord Egmont or Lord Dupplin 1st Lord of Trade. I would have Dupplin or Barrington Ch^r of the Exchequer, and what I wish to be done for my friends, I would have done now, that, having nothing to ask, there may not be a possibility of quarrel. Now H.M. has sent to the D. of N. ; and I am going to Lord Waldegrave to receive a like message, which I understand is this, that H.M. requires us either to meet or to negotiate through Lord Waldegrave, which we like best, to fix a new administration which may take the place of this immediately. I hear H.M. will have S^r T. Robinson Sec^r. of State again, which is neither here or there, and Ld Winchelsea at the Admiralty, which, besides that it makes no vacancy at another place, will by no means grace or assist the new scheme. Lord Granville is superannuated, and will continue where he is.

Now, my Dear Lord, your opinion of all this is what I want, and particularly whether you desire another employment than you now have, and what? You must answer the last Question, tho' you should not now wish to change, for you can not, I think, like to continue long where you are. Tr^r of the Chambers, Jewel office, Wardrobe, which of these or what other do you like? and how far would you have it made a condition? I shall easily, I fancy, get Harry Digby the Board of Trade, and I will try for a promise of Peerage at the end of next Session for Lord Digby. Write, my Dear Lord, your advice expeditiously as well as fully on this whole matter, and send it by the Bearer of this. I shall possibly be press'd to take a place in administration. Probably they won't make Ch. Townshend Sec^r at War; and many, many Difficultys may arise, for Lord Hardwicke is afraid of Leicester House.

I have seen Lord Waldegrave. The Duke of Newcastle talks of Lord Egmont for Secretary of State. I don't approve of that. But what is much

worse, Lord Hardwicke will have Lord Anson restor'd, and they want delay.¹ I am to draw out my thoughts, I will not send them till I have yours. I have just receiv'd your Wednesday's Letter ; I don't know by it whether this will find you at Bath or at Redlynch,² but the Messenger if He do's not find you at Bath will proceed to Redlynch. I find by Lord Mansfield, who is this moment gone, that the D. of Newcastle's Friends think his Grace so unequal to the Post assign'd Him that they will do their utmost to prevent His undertaking it, and this, if it do's not convince, will however cause delay. So you may keep the Messenger a day. Take, D^r Bro^r, a list of all Cabinet Council Places and of all others of any consequence, and write how you would have or leave them fill'd. And suppose the D. of Newcastle will not undertake, but will support, Ministry. What would you advise then?

Adieu. Your ever affectionate

Brother, H. F.

Charles³ says Ld Stavordale is very well.

EARL OF ILCHESTER TO MR. FOX.

Bath. 5 March. Saturday Morn. 12 o'clock. [1757.]

MY DEAREST BROTHER.

I have just received your letter, and am sitting down to write you my first thoughts upon your schemes. If upon more mature deliberation I shall alter my way of thinking, I will destroy this letter and write another. I propose keeping your messenger till to morrow.

What I like best is your first project, especially that part of it by which you are to be paymaster and manager in the House of Commons, though I should think difficulties will arise to manage there without a great share in the distribution of favours, but I think you are right to let that matter be avowedly by your consent in the Duke of Newcastle.

The prospect of affairs in general, the age of the King, and disposition of Leicester house, make the coming into the administration or having a responsible place extremely unpleasant, so at all events I desire to fortifie you in the resolution of having something permanent and valuable that may support and

¹ Anson had been dismissed from the Admiralty in November 1756. He was restored to it in June, in the Pitt-Newcastle Administration, by the special intervention of his father-in-law, Hardwicke.

² Lord Ilchester's residence in Somerset.

³ Charles James Fox.

assist you in the next reign, the rage of which may likely be pointed against you. If the peerage for Lady Caroline can be obtain'd, I would advise you to be made an Irish Lord by the same title that she takes.

By the latter part of your letter it seems as if these matters would not be easily settled. The restoration of Lord Anson seems a very great impediment; he is a man I love and wish well to, but I should think Lord Hardwicke ought to know that replacing him at this time at the admiralty must be very unpopular.

It was quite news to me that Lord George Sackville had gone to Pit, and that Ch. Townsend had left him. Supposing the former is of a temper tolerably practicable, I would certainly endeavour to regain him, and would offer the secretaryship to him, as he will be of credit and use to you next sessions. As for the other gentlemen you have mentiond, I dont know enough of their characters to judge what employments they are best fitted for. Is Lord Egmont proposed for secretary by way of offence or jealousy of you? An able talking secretary in the House of Commons, friend to the prime minister, may possibly prevent your having such weight in the management of debates as you expect. A great deal depends upon what terms you and he are upon. Lord Halifax seems to me a very proper person to be at the head of the admiralty. As for Winchelsea, I have no objection to him, but by your saying he will neither grace nor assist the new scheme, it looks as if you had. After you have said Ld H. will have Ld Anson restord, you say, *they* want delay. I dont very well know who you mean by *they*.

I think it very possible the D. of Newcastle may be persuaded not to take the employment you have designd for him. What to do in that case is a hard question, and I am sure such a one as I cant answer. I can think of but 2 ways, either to go to the head of the treasury yourself, or to get the D. of Bedford to be Lord High treasurer. If you take the treasury your self, which is the most agreeable of great employments, you will immediately become the mark of all the violence of opposition and clamour, but what degree of potency or impotency there is now in the opposition you are a judge, not I. If there is a prospect of things going tolerably prosperously, there is no great danger in venturing there, but national calamitys, if any such should happen, may create danger. Considerations of this sort, I dare say you have often deliberated upon.

I cant help saying I am very glad things are taking this turn, and hope and believe you will be in a much pleasanter situation than you have been in

lately. My advice is, if possible to make your first scheme take place and be paymaster, because that is an agreeable and not a responsible place; and in case you are forced into the administration, to act with caution, and be sure to have something to depend upon at the demise of the crown. I should think there need not be many alterations in the cabinet places. What is to become of the Duke of Dorset? I am sure I dont care. Who is to be the treasurer of the navy? Who are thought of for Lords of the treasury?

I propose staying here 10 days longer, so if you write again direct to me here.

Adieu, my dearest Brother, I wish you prosperity, happyness, and success, in all your schemes, and am most affectionately

& sincerely yours, ILCHESTER.

SIR GEORGE OXENDEN¹ TO MR. FOX.

Deane, in Wingham, Kent.

Ap. 24, 1757.

DEAR SIR.

Now you are got again into power, and I hope you will be in every thing you desire, I am going to petition you in behalf not only of my Self, but of, I may say, the whole Body of Gentlemen and Farmers in these parts, to save us from the Ruin that we very justly forsee will befall us, if the Scheme for a Camp on Barham Downs takes place. It would be perhaps presumptuous in me to pretend to judge where a Camp ought not to be, otherwise I would say that I think it is impossible for the wit of man to propose another place so improper and liable to so many objections as this has. One would imagine that the unanimity which reigns in this part of Kent to support the Government might be one Reason not to put such a monstrous Hardship and Difficulty upon us, as this necessarily will do. Gentlemen that did some years ago appear in arms to defend the Country, in case it should have then been attacked or invaded, are now to be drove from their Seats, and to have their Estates and Tenants pillaged and robbed by the Souldiers.

Corn scarce to be bought: three pounds ten shillings already, and they talk of 5*l*. For Godsake, Sir, what are we to do when a camp comes amongst us? We cant keep the poor as it is. I hear every day as a Justice complaints that the poor in every parish are starving, and that they are forced to receive

¹ A Kent landowner, and supporter of the Whigs (1694-1775).

their Grist at 8/- a Bushell, and to think themselves well off at that price. All the straw has long since been gone; I give you my Honour we have, my Son and I, 36 Tenants within 15 miles, and Neither of us have been able to gett a Truss of Straw for our Horses for three weeks past. What will the camp do for bread; how is the victualling office at Dover to be supplied when the camp is here, when they cant be supplied hardly as it is, and are forced to advertise every Day? I fear this matter is not considered; a free Speaker said the other Day, he did not believe that the persons who projected this Scheme for a camp knew of there being any victualling office in Dover or that the Downs Fleets are always victualling from thence and Deal. Whether they know it, I can't tell; but I think they can't have considered it. Why is poor Kent to be saddled with Three Camps this year, one at Chatham, the artillery at Cox Heath, and another at Barham Down? Does any mortall believe there is likely to be an Invasion this Summer; or if there was, can they land upon the Tops of Dover Cliffs. If I was the ruling Minister, no camp should ever be formed East of Chatham, for reasons as obvious as the sun. May I presume to name a place, if you will have a camp? let it not be in East Kent, for you will lose all your Interest into the Bargain; mine is but Trifling, but I will endeavour to serve any body rather than a ministry, our Friends wee thought, that ruin us at our Doors. There is as fine a Flat Dry heath near Dartford as any in England, where the Judicious in 1743 placed a camp. It is between Dartford River and Bexley River, plenty of water and provisions, will offend nobody, except perhaps the Common Council and Mr. Deputy Hodges; and upon my Honour it is more worth the new Ministry's while to have an eye on them, than to raise distraction and Resentment amongst their Fast Friends here. Save us, Dear Sir, from a camp, or else give us back Mr. Pitt, for we think nothing can be worse than the Former.

Adieu, excuse this Trouble from Him who is very faithfully your sincere Friend and humble Ser^t,

GEO. OXENDEN.

Not a drop of Water on Barham Downs. 34 Fathom is the soonest one can find it, and all a chalk to dig. It is impossible for Gentlemen to Live in their Houses, for the spot is very narrow, and the picquets must be at their avenue Gates. The High Road to Dover (7 miles) very commodious for spies, as nobody can be suspected who is passing on upon the High Road. I know one reason, and but one, for having it there; it is very convenient for

the Fine Gentlemen to go to y^e Canterbury Assembly, 4 miles off, a Fine road and Fine Ladies, but Bexley Heath or Dartford Heath, which it is called I cant very well tell, is full as well, for there is Gallantry at the Assembly at Black Heath, and Vaux Hall. To be serious. I verily believe a word of yours properly placed will save us; dont decline doing a Just thing by us, because it may not perhaps be strictly within your Department. We all know your power; let us taste the Goodness of your will.

THE WORCESTER CORPORATION AND PITT.

Worcester. May 1st, 1757.

This loyal Corporation met on Friday last, and unanimously agreed to present the freedom of this City to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge.¹ We have no Deputy Hodges here, so the question was simply proposed by Mr. Town Clerk.

Alderman West. Pray who bea the two gentlemen?

Aldⁿ Martin (whispering). The great orator, you oaf, and his friend.

Aldⁿ Bayliss. What is it they have done? Hea?

Aldⁿ Johnson. Why it is thought they were Tories in their hearts, and meant to have brought us all into good places.

Mr. Mayor. Hold your tongues; my Lord Ward hath sent word that it is a proper thing, and wou'd have us do it.

Agreed, agreed.

Q. In what Box?

All against gold or silver, for they want a new Tankard.

Millington the Plumber, in a leaden box.

Wakeman, the Tobacconist, in a neat Tobacco box.

The Sheriff (a Tinman) for a Tin box, who carried his point.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Leicester Fields. May 28th, 1757.

MY DEAR SIR.

I make no doubt but you will have much earlier and better intelligence of the long conference yesterday at Kensington than I can send you. The D.

¹ Pitt and Legge were the recipients of many similar tributes upon their dismissal from office. In the words of Horace Walpole, "for some weeks it rained gold boxes."

of Devonshire, to be sure, has wrote it you in raptures to find the time of his release so near. The D. of Newcastle, I suppose, has sent you a dozen expresses to assure you he never lov'd any body so well; and Ellis and the rest of y^r wise friends, who think you never know what to do for yourself, must have remonstrated upon y^r absence at such a critical juncture.¹ But as all this can't have made you tired of reading a letter, I will send you this short one to tell you I was at Kensington at the Levée to kiss the King's hand for my new Irish honour,² and saw the Duke of Newcastle go in. I minuted him, and his audience lasted an hour and twenty minutes, which time I waited, merely to judge by his countenance, if I cou'd, how the fate of this Country, the conduct of the war, the welfare of Europe, and a few such other trifling circumstances, were likely to succeed. But veracity and steadiness are so strongly implanted there, and he is alike so unruffled by prosperity or adversity, that I cou'd discover nothing. I then went to the House of Lords, where as soon as He came He took y^e Duke of Bedford aside, and by a whisper of a Quarter of an hour made my Lord Temple look as if he wou'd have been pale, if he ever chang'd colour. I just got a word with his Grace as he step'd into his coach to go to Woburn. He told me the other had notified his intention, and his answer was:—"That he shou'd support the King's measures in whosever hands his Maj^y plac'd them; and with respect to his Grace, if he carried them on in such a manner that he cou'd approve, He desir'd all personal animosities might be forgot."

Halifax, they say, is to be Secretary, and I suppose you know Egmont refus'd it without he was made a Peer.

To be sure you have today's *Test* at Goodwood either in Print or *Manuscript*, or I wou'd send it you, for it is the best and most provoking Paper I ever read.

You come to Town on tuesday, I hear, and I go to Woburn on monday to stay till thursday. I wish you wou'd send a note here where you dine that day.

Ever y^{rs} most faithfully,

R. R.

¹ Fox had gone to Goodwood for a few days.

² Rigby was now Chief-Secretary for Ireland, under Bedford, the Lord-Lieutenant.

A FRAGMENT IN HON. H. WALPOLE'S HANDWRITING.

You will the more easily believe this account, when I tell you, that on the last Revolution in the family, there were living in the parish no less than six helpers, whom old Tom had persuaded his master to discard. I send you their names, that you may inform yourself from any of the neighbours. They were, John Carter, Will. Handup, Phil. Standup, Jack Russel, Tom Robins, and Harry Fowkes. The latter who had been brought into the family by the old coachman Robin, and who always retain'd great affection for his memory, and who, so far from aspiring to be coachman himself, had often refused it, was a fellow of great spirit and honesty. He had been courted into the best families in the village, but woud never quit his master, till he found his Hon^r had rather have his neck broken by Thomas and the Bailiff, than be driven by any body else in a quiet, even manner. The case was much the same with the Postilions; for tho Tom was reduced by his jealousy to associate the Stable boys with him, yet even they grew uneasy to him. He first introduced the little fellow you mentioned, hoping, as he was a Dwarf by nature, that he cd never be preferr'd to the box. But even this supple pigmy grew offensive and was removed; and then old Tom persuaded his Honour to take for postilion the Worcestershire giant, as if whatever disqualified a man for any service was a recommendation to his master's. And indeed nothing was ever less fit to be employ'd than this long creature, who understood so little of the commonest business, that he thought hay was bought by the bushel and beans by the load.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Bielefeldt. May y^e 23^d, 1757.

MR. FOX. I could not answer your letter of the 6th before, from the different occupations I have on my hands here. At present all I shall trouble you with about us here, is that we are not in quite so desperate a state here as I feard we should be in, and to my honour be it said I have even rendered *Steinberg* active and lively, that saying enough of myself.¹ As to the King of

¹ Cumberland had been sent to take command of the British force in Germany, and sailed on April 1. He had been asked for by Frederick, and the price of his acceptance appears to have been Pitt's dismissal, which took place a few days later. Frederick had routed the Austrians near Prague on May 6, but still had overwhelming odds to face.

Prussia, he has, by his Prudence and Celerity, got the better of his enemies to such a degree that he has little or nothing to fear for himself, but I do not expect he will do much for us on this side, but famine is the common friend or enemy as you please, for he will not let us come together as yet.

I have seen your Resolutions, and approve of them mightily.¹ I don't much mind the list of those that voted against you, for I think it proceeded from motives that won't lead them the lengths of an opposition. As to Harry Conway his character won't allow of misrepresentation, and at least his kind, warm behaviour to me in this last transaction ought to have removed any unjust suspicions, which suspicions were invented and propagated by such people as stayed away because their Father was a Cabinet Councillor or such other scandalous pretext.

As to the King's affairs, from all hands I hear from they are rather retrograde since I left England than advanced, and what surprises me as much is the King's total ease of mind about it. I am not surprised you have no guess left, for I doubt whether any set of men have a desire or plan formed of carrying the publick affairs on Ambition. Revenge and future most lasting times are the things thought of most by the animals we now always call Patriots.

The Duke of Devon. certainly means to bring about a Junction of Ministry between the D. of Newcastle and Pitt, with you Paymaster. If the King can bear it, which is my first view and desire, it would be the thing I most wish, for then they might undertake the whole, and our ambition would no longer be the tedious topick of Jacobites and Lyars. Indeed you know my pride too well not to know how thoroughly I despise the trade of an English Minister: but this plan has two such objections that I fear it is idle to speak of it all, one, the King's thorough dislike to seeing those new men Ministers again, and then the double impracticability of the two little great men.

You continue to act the same honorable part that has brought you to the situation you are in, and your friends have the pleasure of seeing you the only man of any reputation in this infamous time. I know your gratitude

¹ A parliamentary inquiry upon the causes of the loss of Minorca was opened on April 19. The proceedings soon developed into a farce, so much so that the Court party, taking courage, moved a resolution affirming that no greater force could have been sent to the Mediterranean. This was going too far, and the victorious majority fell to seventy-eight. Conway was absent with a swollen knee.

to the King, and that friendship you have so long shown me will make you take any part that will help the poor King in his distrest condition. All the rest in dont mind a bit, if he could but have his time out with some comfort and peace. He has had more goodness for me than I can express, and the confidence he places in me about the affairs that go nearest his heart has made me, I must own, the Humourous Lieutenant. Pray if you have occasion, make Winchelsea my compliments, and tell him that I am very much concerned at his situation from having been concerned in engaging him into the service, as well from the frank and generous manner in which he entered.¹ You know the regard I have for the Duke of Marlborough, and that I really have an opinion of him, but always knew that the King would not be prevail'd to give him a Regiment.² I will do and have done more than I care he should know about, but it wont do. Is he not as much in the army as I am? For indeed I never think of Regiment myself, and if the King pleased to give it to Edward, or any other nephew, I should not think myself a bit less Commander of the Army. As to Ld Pembroke I wish he would once leave the army, for there is no good to be had out of him. Holmes is already appointed to the Command at Portsmouth: that will get you Onslow on your back. There he shall remain, for I will not take him of for Ld J. Muray; if I could with any decency imploy him any where, I would not be in Scotland, at Inverness. I finish this long letter with assuring you, dear Fox, that I shall ever remain sensible of your friendship on all occasions, and that I am your very affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Bielefelt. May y^e 31st, 1757.

MR. FOX. I have received your two of y^e 13th and 20th, with the curious account of the state of internall affairs at home. What all these ruguish negotiators will produce I dont beleave they themselves can tell. I wish the nauseous mixture may not, like that of the witches in Macbeth, produce storms, and I fear we can't bear many more: our poor Constitution is so

¹ Lord Winchelsea had returned to the Admiralty in place of Lord Temple, dismissed the day before Pitt.

² "H.M. is still very severe in his opinion of the D. of Marlbro': he will not consider him as in the army." (Fox to Cumberland, May 6, 1757.)

rotten. You and I have the comfort of having acted our parts towards the King and country, so that no reproach thrown upon us can make us feall dissatisfied with our own conduct, and that is a great ease during this turbid state we live in. The Idea of Ld Lincoln being grown a great man is so ridiculous, that nothing can excuse it but the sort of People that have made him negotiator. How will his proud spirit agree with that of the Green Ribon at that court. I should be vastly pleased to be present at a conference between them. I dont wonder at your astonishment at the King's indolence during these transactions, but he thinks it all so bad, that if he can but put it off for a time he is satisfied. I wish it may end with any decency for him, and highly approve of the message you have sent him about it: but I fear it will not have the desired effect. He is surprisingly good to me here, for he approves implicitly all I do: and yet I am forced to change and alter most things, for they were in a thorough state of confusion, and as much hatred and party as amongst us in England. But a little resolution, and one may knock their heads together for the service of their master. I despair of success for the Duke of Marlborough, how much soever I wish him a regiment, nay two. I dont say a word of it to the Duke of Devonshire, least it might abate his useless zeal on this occasion. I am glad you have prepared old Holmes about his brother's drincking. The vote of Credit passing without silly and wicked restrictionn give me great joy, for indeed the King has a very just right to assistance from England in the most dangerous and expensive war he is now engaged in on our cause allone. What will be the end of the Campaign no one can proficye, for the enemy are together with their full force for this week almost, without making any use of it. This is the most difficult, and not the most brilliant Campaign that ever man was engaged in; as yet I am satisfied with what I have hitherto done. I hope I shall continue to be so, for I know myself to be a severe Judge.

ever yours,

WILLIAM.

THE POET'S ADDRESS TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. P. ESQ^R.

[June 1757.]

WHILE Citys and Boroughs all keep such a Pother,
In Boxes and Compliments rival each other,
The Muse, who (you know) has no Bullion to spare,
In her own Coin presents you this Box o' the ear.

Fie Billy, so naughtily thus to behave,
 What just dubb'd a Freeman, and list for a Slave!
 With P—l—m and A—s—n, those true Pack-Horse Peers,
 And F—x, the train'd War-Horse, to draw in the Geers,
 The Presents of Britain so meanly abuse,
 Turn again a Court-Hack for a stall in the Meuse!
 Think Sarah's Ten Thousand came just in the nick,¹
 Will you play a whole Nation the same dirty Trick;
 She knows not indeed how her Legacy sped,
 But the Nation may live, tho' the Dutchess be dead.

MR. WELBORE ELLIS TO MR. FOX.

[June 1757.]

DEAR SIR,

I was very sorry to hear from Ld Granville that you was not at Court when he came from thence, and that he supposed that you had not taken the Seal. I have just now seen M. d'Abreu, who say'd that he met Ld Temple in the Park; "qu'il lui paroissoit pas un homme en colère mais *enragé*." He say'd, "What do you think of your friend Fox? That he will be Chanc^r of Exchequer? Never believe it; it is the greatest piece of Temerity and Madness that ever man was guilty of." That it cou'd not last six hours; that he wou'd find that nothing wou'd be done again today; that he might be assur'd that nothing wou'd be done. Whereupon he left him. Now I make no doubt that this language is held to every one, which will intimidate Members and create you difficultys, for an Administration talked of and an Administration in possession are two very different things, and those who will be very shy of declaring when talked to by Mr. Fox, wou'd talk a different Style to the Chanc^r of Exchequer; because it wou'd shew that the King had decided, whereas now they think he may be terrify'd to change. You will pardon me for being so earnest and troublesome, but I am convinced, and I find others think so too, that you are hurting yourself essentially by delaying to have even these two Offices declard.

Your's ever,

W. E.

Arthur's. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3.

¹ Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, left Pitt £10,000 in her will.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Dankersen. June y^e 30th, 1757.

DEAR FOX. I have received yours of the 17th and 21st. As sorry as you know I must be for the King's honour and dignity as I am, yet I must own that for my private self and my friends I am rejoiced they have no share in the management of so rotten a bark as ours, and as we must sink I had rather I and my friends were passengers than pilots. I should not despair if we would be saved, but the desire is not in us, for the narrowminded things call'd Patriots in our times have got such a clamorous ascendant over the Genius of England, that She will not accept assistance but from themselves, who do not intend good to others than those of their own faction.

I own I am pleased at the spirited manner with which the King insisted upon your being Pay-master, as it does H.M. honour, and is a further proof of his goodness to me.¹ I am sure you know my heart too well to think that clamour can alter my opinion or Love and esteem for a friend I have not only known but tried so long; beside I have a personal reason, you know too well, not to allow much weight to clamour. Indeed, Fox, you need not regret your not being in a more active situation on my account, for I hope not to be very much longer the object of hatred and malice; for I [am] quite tired with running my head against the wall for to do good, and in that respect I wish L^d George had been Secretary of Warr, that I might have had still more reason for retiring from the bustle. Don't repeat to any one what I write, not from the bitterness of heart but from serious reflection as what would suite my private satisfaction and ease of mind more than any thing, for you know how much I despise the dirty means necessary amongst us even to serve the publick, and how happy a private man I can be either in town or at Windsor. I am heartily rejoiced at the King's goodness to the Duke of Marlborough. It was a childish request, but should have been complied with immediately. I have not the least doubt but that you will be as able to act the proper part in your honourable retreat, as you have always done in active parts you have hitherto been engaged in. I intend to answer the Duke of Devonshire's two letters this post, for they have helped greatly to unravell the

¹ Fox obtained the Paymastership, in the Pitt-Newcastle Administration, at the King's special wish.

filthy misteries of these two months. I own I love him, and can but say he has served the King faithfully, and with honour. I am glad Hallifax's conscience has dismissed him, a dirty fellow.¹ Ever yours, dear Fox, and a thousand thanks for your sincere wishes on my private account,

WILLIAM.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Affrede. July 1757.

DEAR MR. FOX. I received yours of the 1st. I see all is settled, and the more I think of it the more I rejoyce at its being settled just as it is, for I see honorable quiet for my friends, which I hope also to obtain. I must own that I a little fear by the stile of your last letter that you dont injoy the still prospect with the same pleasure that I do for my friend. If you reflect, you will certainly continue to sign, as you did to your brother, lucky Harry Fox. You have in some measure secured provision for your children, and have the honour to be the only one man of any rank and weight in the H.C. that has been steady to their principles, and to their King; indeed, Fox, I envy you, if one can envy a friend. I rejoyce with you at the Garter being so properly given.² I would actually write myself to old Wall, if I did not know how much he hates a letter; but you will do me pleasure to lett him know, what I hope he does not doubt, how much I love and esteem him, and consequently how glad I am that he is not Minister, but that he has the Garter. I beleave I have already desired the Duke of Devonshire to do it, but I had rather do ten times than Waldegrave should doubt my friendship. Barrington behaves hitherto very well. As the next opportunity of serving Stanwicks will be by Lampton getting a Regiment, to which he will succeed, I wish you would prepare the Duke of Bedford, either by making use of my name if necessary, else your favour will do, if it lasts still. I am very much obliged to Coll Hodgson for insisting on their being no compromise, for their could be no danger of your being thrown out, so that I wonder at your aproving of it. I hear you send two thousand men more to North America, what for, God knows. Here I am sure you'll send none, tho' perhaps they would be more

¹ Lord Halifax tendered his resignation in 1756, and again in 1757, because the post of Secretary of State for the West Indies was not created for him.

² Lord Waldegrave was given the vacant Garter.

necessary than any where England can imploy them. I am labouring on, but to what purpose I yet can [not] tell. We shall our utmost, but it is not the most favourable prospect that it carries with it. I hope some quiet time or other we shall laugh over our past difficulties, as well as at those others will be then engaged [in], and that our friendship, which begun in troublesome times, will always continue. Ever your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Drakenburg. Aug^r y^e 5th, 1757.

DEAR MR. FOX. I believe you will forgive me if I have not answer'd your kind letter sooner, but indeed this has not been a Campaign to allow one time for any thing. Else you may easily believe I should have prefer'd the pleasure of corresponding with you to most of my other occupations. We have had three days the greatest fatigues that I believe ever Army's underwent, and indeed there never was a better Army in the world more willing to revenge their country. But after all we were forced to retire, from the superiority against us, and we did retire between one and two in the afternoon without the enemy chusing to send a man after us. This is very honourable for us, but it betters not the situations of affairs.¹ I hear d'Abreu² sticks close to your skirts, and brags that he gets much intelligence from you. I am glad to hear it, for I did not know you a Minister again.

If it proves not inconvenient to Ld Bateman, I should be glad he would wait my return for to settle his lodge. He must have one certainly as Master of the Buck-hounds, but I should be glad to settle it myself when I get home, which I both hope and fear must be soon. Superior or Inferior, ever yours, dear Fox,

WILLIAM.

Are you a going to conquer Old France as well as Kew? pray give the Elector your conquest to make up his losses.

¹ D'Estrées had defeated Cumberland on July 24 at Hastenbeck, and Richelieu, who superseded him, reaped the benefits, by capturing all the fortresses on the Weser, and being able to occupy Brunswick and Hanover. Cumberland was forced to retire, and made a show of defending the line of the Aller, near the fortress of Verden.

² The Spanish minister in London.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Rothenbourg. Aug^t y^e 29th, 1757.

MR. FOX. I have a thousand thanks to return you for yours of y^e 18th. I can assure you with great truth and joy that my troublersome —— is almost well, and much more so than I could have thought it possible in the time, even had I lain in bed the whole time. You know this accident is the only kind of ill health I fear, so that perhaps I was uneasier about it than it deserved, but indeed just after the affair at Hastenbeck, it did appear to me very bad, and I beleave Andrews thought it so too; but now I hope it is near at an end, and that it will return no more.

You know that I dont love to despair, but I own I have not seen the least glimmering of light for us of some time, and indeed at no time was it ever very promising. Could the King of Prussia have done greater miracles than he did in the beginning of the Campaign, then we might have been releaved; but as it has proved, the Combat has been between the whole land force of France, assisted by severall German Princes. How that must end, every one may guess; but I have reason to hope that peace for these parts is near at hand, tho' not so near as I wish it, for I am heartily tired of pulling like the draught horses at Smithfield against a post. Dont mention a word of my hopes of peace to any mortall, I beg.

I dont think d'Abreu's intelligence of the Enemyes' design destitute of foundation. We all along have observed they were driving to that end, but I hope in God by some means or other we should have avoided making such a Capitulation: Nevertheless it had better not come to that. I agree with you in opinion, and I beleave in hopes that this secret expedition will remain a Secret intention and not Expedition.¹ I have wrote my humble opinion for the raising more troops, but I dont know whether the dauntless Man Mountain will think it proper, or perhaps intends to meet the enemy at their landing in Person at the head of his new Valiant Millitia. If so, what has Old England to fear. As the Messenger is ready, I must finish, with the sincerest assurance that I am ever your most affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

¹ Cumberland was driven back to Stade by a further offensive on the part of Richelieu, and was thus hemmed in between the Elbe and the Weser. Disappointed of the reinforcements, which he had hoped might have been diverted to him from the projected expedition to Rochefort, he concluded the Convention of Kloster-Zeven on September 8.

MR. H. HARRIS TO MR. FOX.

Wandsworth Hovel. Tuesdy. Sept. 20, 1757.

DEAR SIR.

I write now from pure Respect and Allegiance; and to preserve that Priviledge (which you have allowed me for above eleven years past) of Conversing and Corresponding and Following you always in some shape or other, and to shew that it is the mere act of my Habitual Love and Attachment, be pleased to Understand that I never sat down so totally devoid of all Subject, Wit, News, or Humour. And what, in such scarcity, may be thought more wonderfull, no egotism shall be brought in Aid, nor mournfull Talk about a certain *Obstinate Old Gentleman*, who is fit only to be involved in Flannel, and to be a musty, peevish Tyrant in his own Chimney-corner.

Every Body here is praying and palpitating for the success of the expedition.¹ This Country, indeed, is but a continued Scene of false Hopes and Fears. What can be expected from Councils, where They Deliberate without Resolving, and where They Resolve without Deliberation? The French will certainly repay us soon this Compliment. *Una Salus, esse Senes!* And I know several old Fellows, who are now providing themselves with crutch-sticks with Ivory Heads, to set in State at their own Doors, most gravely to provoke these Modern Gauls to knock them o' the Head immediately.

S^r Cha^s Williams is now upon the Road, pleased with his Escape from Courts and publick Hurry; and full, I suppose, of fine Dreams of ease and peace and Paradise at Cashiobury. *Heu vatum ignaræ mentes!* Lady Essex, in a very polite kind Letter, presses me much to pass some Time with Her; but I can't bring myself to Taste that *George*, who now seems to be the Minister and Dry Nurse in ordinary to them all. Don't you think that the Departure of some *great Folks* for Ireland will save S^r Cha^s, upon his arrival, a sort of forced Behavior and passages that might have been pretty difficult and embarrassing?

I hope, Sir, that you have Trotted yourself into perfect Good Health and Spirits; that your share of Game killed makes no bad figure in the Book

¹ The expedition to Rochefort, which set sail early in September. The conception was Pitt's, with the idea of drawing off the French forces engaged against Cumberland and Frederick in Germany.

of Mortality at Maddington. Should your Hand be in so well for Destruction, Be so good as to try it in the way of Increase. Gallop over to Bath, and make an unmissing Bold Shot for a Daughter, to prattle with in your old age; which is as much as to say, my Humble Respects to Lady Caroline.

When you shall be pleased to own that Virgil and Pope were Poets, a *certain morose Critick* will, upon late more carefull Reading, acknowledge that Mr. Gray's 2^d Ode is a spirited performance; but this is upon condition of mutual yeilding. With all its Fame, the Decisions of Christ Church have been often and justly thought somewhat partial and Arrogant; nor have the Muses, after their various Marches and wanderings, as in the 5th Ode, been driven to the single Shelter of Strawberry Hill; nor was Apollo ever put so hard to it, as to become His own Printer. Without talking of myself (as I promised in the outsetting) without Petition, Grievance, or Lamentation, I am, Dear S^r,

Ever Yours,
HEN. HARRIS.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Stade. Sep^r y^e 23^d, 1757.

MR. FOX. I know you will forgive my not having answer'd your last sooner, but the multiplicity of things of diferent kinds I have had on my hands made it impossible till now. I wish I could have obliged you about Sandford, but at present I could not. I hear Loudon¹ is to be pull'd to peaces for not being able to [do] in Jully what would have been to be done in May, if the Frensh had not received reinforcements. I beleave he will do all that can be done, but no man should be condemned unheard. You will think I say that, not forgetting myself, who am, as I suppose, the object and topick of every Cofee-house Pollitician. If the King is satisfied, I mind not the rest. What has England done to suport us, that she has any right to complain of our measures. Has the Cause been taken up as it ought to have been, both from honour and sound Policy? Perhaps we had not been drove to the wall as we have been, and I am very fully convinced that the Tory doctrine of a Sea-warr, which we are following, will be repeated by our childrens' Children. But we have

¹ Lord Loudon was Commander-in-Chief in America.

nothing to answer for; let those who after having thrown England into the inward Convulsions she labours under, extricate her out of her outward and inward dangers. God knows I wish they may. I flatter myself soon to see you again, and to assure you sincerely I ever remain your very affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO MR. FOX.

Sunday morning.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I am going after Court with Lord Gower to Newmarket. I shou'd have been glad to have seen you before I went, that you might have been able to have inform'd H.R.H^s of every thing that has come to my knowledge.¹ I have been twice with the King, and endeavour'd to say every thing in my power to soften him, and to shew him the necessity, even upon his own account, to keep terms with the Duke. The first conversation between them will be terrible, and you will do well to prepare H.R.H. for it, and to advise him to keep his temper, if possible. In my poor opinion, the best way is to look forward, and to endeavour to let it subside; and the less it is talk'd on the better. By what I can learn, there has no ill offices been done by any of the English Ministers. Pitt has acted handsomely, and desir'd the King to look forward. I intended to have gone to Chatsworth from Newmarket, but will now come up to Town, and if the Duke or you should think my being there the least use, desire S^r R. Wilmot to send an Express, and I will come up instantly.

I am,

Dear S^r,

Y^{rs}, &c.

DEVONSHIRE.

P.S. The King, after he was dress'd, call'd me into his Closet before he went to Chappell, told me y^t the Russians were retiring and y^e King of

¹ The King's fury, upon the receipt of the news of the Convention of Kloster-Zeven, was indescribable. He repudiated the agreement, on the grounds that Cumberland had no power to conclude the Treaty,—a statement which was untrue. His Royal Highness was summoned to England, and resigned all his appointments on discovering his father's wrath.

Prussia was driving P. Soubize before him, "And now," says he, "if my son had not made this Convention, what a good situation we should have been in." In short, he grows worse upon the receipt of every Pacquet, whether it contains good or bad. He is agitated and affected in a most terrible manner. Pray be cautious how you talk.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO MR. FOX.

Newmarket. Oct 4, 1757.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I receiv'd your Letter here last night. I did not in the least doubt the uneasiness you wou'd be under upon receiving Lord Waldegrave's Letter and mine. I must own that the consequences that you are of opinion will result from this unfortunate event have appear'd the most probable to me, at the same that I cannot help wishing upon every account that they cou'd be prevented. The unfortunate step that was taken, of disavowing what H.R.H^s had done to the K. of Prussia, was taken before I came to Town, neither do I think it wou'd have been in my Power to have prevented it. What is over cannot be remedied; the only thing is to see what is best to be done in the present situation. To that end, I have endeavour'd to convince the King of the consequence H.R.H^s is to his own and his Country's safety, for that not only his own ease but the security of his Crown depends upon H.R.H^s being at the head of his Army; and y^t if he makes a run at him it will be impossible for him to be there, or even to consent to remain there himself. Every man must judge himself whether he thinks he can remain in the station he is in with honour, and I am sure that is a Question I shou'd not presume to advise H.R.H^s upon. I shall only say that if ever the day comes y^t he thinks himself oblig'd to give up the command of the army, I shall for many reasons think it the most unfortunate one that I ever saw; and therefore I own my wishes are that H.R.H^s shou'd give way, if it can be done in honour, to the King's humour. For the present I think he need not fear what the world will say upon the occasion. They seem appris'd of the state of the case, particularly some of the Foreign Ministers. I do not in the least doubt the distress H.R.H. will be in; it is a terrible situation to be reduc'd to justify one's own conduct at the expence of one's Father. I told Princess Amelia, that if the Duke thought I cou'd be of the least use I desir'd he wou'd send me word and I wou'd come instantly; whether he does or not

I shall set out the moment I hear he is come. The Letters wou'd not reach him before last Saturday, the wind is now contrary, so he will probably not be here immediately, and I intend at all events to be in Town on Saturday. I am,

Dear,

Y^r most sincere Friend, &c.

DEVONSHIRE.

THE PRIMATE OF IRELAND TO MR. FOX.

Leixlip. 18th of October, 1757.

SIR.

Mr. Stone¹ has at length found an opportunity of delivering the Letter, which you did me the Honour of sending to me by Him. He was near three weeks searching to no Purpose for me in the Places where Great Men and busy Men resort. But my not being to be found there was not His Fault; and I dare say, you do not think it to be Mine. I did upon our Meeting assure Him of all the attention on my Part that He can expect from the most effectual Recommendation: and I now beg leave to assure you, that I will punctually perform what I have promised to Him. You are fully sensible (and I have endeavoured to ask Him so too, though He comes out of a School which leaves little Room for such Instructions) that this Attention of mine must be confined at present to unsubstantial Civilities: which, happily for Him, is all that He can at present want. And I hope He will accept them as the Earnest of solid Services, in case any future Denouement should enlarge my Capacity of doing Good or Mischief. I cannot deny that I took it rather amiss of you, that you delayed the winding up of the Piece of last winter so long that I could not stay to be present at It. But you did it well at last; it was the work of a Master, and of such a one as I have always known and sometimes felt you to be. I can well imagine, that before you put the finishing Stroke to It, your Courage and your understanding might have had a conflict. But you certainly determined right with regard to yourself, and perhaps the same also (if any thing in these distracted Times can be right) with regard to the Publick. I can therefore have no Doubt whether I am to congratulate you or not upon that event: since it has put

¹ Andrew Stone (1703-1773), Secretary to the Duke of Newcastle and brother of the Primate, Dr. George Stone.

Primate of Ireland to Fox

you for the Present upon the Ground where you wish to stand, where you have a Prospect of long continuing to exert those Great Faculties of your Mind (of which you are in the undisputed Possession) for the King's, for your Friends, and for your own Service; and of being Free in choosing which of Those Faculties you shall put Foremost, without the Danger of being reduced, as I am, to the Exercise of one single Virtue, and That the meanest of Them all, in which Rank, I think, by the estimation of the world, Patience has most commonly the Honor to be placed.

I am, Sir,
with all possible Respect and Regard,
your most obedient
and most humble Servant,

GEORGE ARMAGH.

MR. FOX TO THE PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

Holland House. Nov^r 3, 1757.

MY DEAR LORD.

I am highly honour'd with your Grace's most ingenious and, except one word, most obliging and agreeable answer to my impudent Letter by Mr. Stone. Your Grace calls last Winter's the work of such a Master as you have sometimes *felt* me to be. Can the first Man in Ireland (and not a Man of Ireland!) fall into their vulgar Error of imagining that I really had any thing to do with the transactions there? Or that your Grace could *feel* so insignificant a Person as I am? At the same time not more insignificant than I desir'd and determin'd to be, when I found, as I long ago did, that I could not reconcile Lord Kildare to your Grace. I beg you to retract that word *feel*. Upon the subject of English Politicks, I like you mightily. Not but that I disown them too, and think last winter's work so little masterly, that there is not a single part of it I would avow but the blue Ribbon given to Ld Waldegrave. Had that been my doing, I should be proud of it. All the rest was such, and even those few things that were well enough imagin'd so spoil'd in the doing, that you don't flatter me when you tell me you see my Hand in any part of it. I aim at no Honour from last winter. I rest content with ease; and without any opportunity of exerting those Facultys of mine that your Grace laughs at. I, too, have but one Virtue left to exercise, and that is of the same pauntry kind with Patience. Your Grace best knows the Rank of

Virtues, but I should think Prudence is not to be found much higher on your List than Patience. You won't allow me to be just form'd for Prudence, I know; or that it will not be difficult for me to keep within it's bounds. I may perhaps think the same of your Grace and Patience; and therefore that your Grace may be call'd to the exercise of more shining Qualitys, whilst I shew you how much you have mistaken my Talents and that I am the prudentest Man alive, is the sincere wish, of My Lord, your Grace's

Most Respectfull,

Most obedient, and

Most faithfull Humble

Servant,

H. Fox.

MR. J. CAMPBELL¹ TO MR. FOX.

Stackpole Court. Oct. 21, 1757.

DEAR S^r.

Though you could not be particular, the general short account you were so kind to give me was enough to fill me with concern and astonishment, and has raised in me a great curiosity, which, at the same time, I must confess is a very idle one. For I am very sensible that my knowing the whole, could not do the least good to my country, my friends, or even to my insignificant self. I am heartily sorry H.R.H. has found it necessary to resign. I see no one that can properly fill the place, and this is a strange time to be without a General. You hear my L^d Protector² behaved handsomely. I believe it, but cannot help saying I believe also that it was only outward and insincere; though I would scorn to say so, if I had not seen so many public, shameless instances of his prevarication, self contradiction, and disregard to truth.

I know not what to think of the expedition.³ I truly thought the Commanders well chosen; I am sure I know not by whom, yet I confess the appearance seems against them. If they did wrong, where shall we find officers that will do their Duty? If they did their best, then I fear it is impossible for us to make any impression upon France, and I must ask when or how is this ill-fated war to end? I do not understand, I suppose it is my dullness, the Declaration made to all the foreign Ministers, sign'd by Ld Holdernesse.

¹ John Campbell (1695-1777), grandfather of the first Lord Cawdor.

² Pitt.

³ To Rochefort.

Wee will vigorously support the K. of P. How can wee do it? Is there any way possible but by money, and if £200,000 was of so little effect (as you, I think, foretold) this year, will it do more the next year? Or will they, who so obstinately refused to give any more last year, be ready to give more, when there is so much less hope of doing any good by it. Perhaps, being quite in the dark, I write nonsense. But there is one thing, I think you may tell me by the Post. Why are you glad that P. is sole Minister? I am not far from the same thought, I don't know whether for the same reasons; for, to tell the truth, I have no very high opinion of his abilities as a Minister. For your own ease, it is lucky you were not made a Minister at the end of last Session; but I sincerely think, that if any good could have been done for this unhappy Country, you were much more likely to have done it than those now in Power. I may at this time venture to say so, not only to your self, but to any body, without being suspected of flattery; which you seem in no situation to receive. I have the honor to agree entirely with Ld Granville in his opinion of the Times.

I am very sincerely, Dear Sr,
Y^r faithfull and affectionate humble Serv^t,
J. CAMPBELL.

MR. J. CAMPBELL TO MR. FOX.

Stackpole Court. Nov^r 18, 1757.

DEAR SR.

Before I was favor'd with yours of the 10th, I had given my opinion very freely, both in words and writing, upon the mean, unconstitutional message. If such Submissions are unavoidably necessary, our Govern^t is in effect dissolved; if they are not, less great is the wisdom of those Ministers who take such ignominious steps. I am not much surprised at the Convention between France and the K. of Prussia.¹ If France acted vigorously against him in conjunction with the E^{ss} Queen, I suppose he must very soon be destroy'd; but it seems to me more natural for the French to preserve him, that he may serve them another time against the August House of Austria: and I said I believed the French would save the K. of Prussia, for

¹ The news of this Convention proved incorrect, though it gained such credence that it was proposed to postpone the meeting of Parliament until December on account of the change in the situation. On the contrary, Frederick routed Soubise at Rosbach on November 5.

that reason, before I heard anything of this Convention. I don't doubt it will renew the cry against the Treaty of Stade, but the right or wrong of that must be determined by the necessity. If it was, as seem'd to me, necessary, it must still be right, whatever the K. of P. has done, or may do; and he would doubtless have done the same, if the Army of observation had been cut in pieces or made Prisoners of War. But if that Treaty was not necessary, it was wrong; though the K. of Prussia should have made no Treaty with France. But how come they to think these Things of so much consequence to us, who two years ago thought wee ought not to concern ourselves in the least with the Continent, nor make the least attempt to prevent the French takeing possession of our K.'s German Dominions? I think the affairs of Germany will now, at worst, be only in the state they then expected and thought (I mean, said) it was right for us to acquiesce in, with a generous intention, I confess, to give the Hanoverians a Brief or so, to make them some recompence for their Losses at the end of the war.

I am told our Pembrokehire Address was drawn by Mr. Whitaker's Lawyer, whose name is Ayres. But be that as it will, I believe you are so far right, that, whoever drew it, it is adorn'd with some flowers that have fallen from C. T.¹ himself. As to the wisdom of our Great Welchmen I can say nothing, because I never saw anything of it. But I assure you they have Pride enough. You will please to remember that great Pride is most frequently accompanied with great meanness; for example, compare the Message to the H. of C. last Session with the late Message to my Ld Mr.

I am allways, Dear Sr,

Sincerely yours,

J. CAMPBELL.

I begin to be apprehensive I shall trouble you too much with my opinion about things of which I know little, and understand less.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Dublin Castle. 8th Apl, 1758.

MY DEAR MR. FOX.

I have two letters from you to acknowledge the receipt of. All the contents of them both relating to the affairs of this Country, I postpone

¹ Charles Townshend.

any answer to, till we meet. You may laugh with me, or at me, as you please. I shall be recompens'd for your Satire by having y^r company, and can stand a joke upon my management here very well in Holland House Garden. We are distress'd by our first batch of Bills not being arriv'd as we expected by this time, and shall have our Parliament to put off again, and what is worse, possibly our Journey too,¹ for a week longer. His Grace has had the Gout for a fortnight past to teaze him very much, but it is going again.

My principal business is to thank you for your very kind letter about Sr Charles Williams.² Pray give him the inclosed from his Grace and myself. You have acted in his affair, as in every thing; so honest and just a part, I do not wonder you are abus'd. The world at present, lead by nothing but Hypocrisy, never believe any thing but villainy, where a thing appears plain to them. But I will not moralize or care one farthing what they think, whilst I have y^e satisfaction of knowing that the unpopular Mr. Fox is the honestest, ablest man in the world, and very much my friend.

Old Sandford is come as happy as you can wish him; and if a Reg^t can make him more so, I will try hard but he shall be so.

Adieu, ever y^{rs}.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Dublin Castle. April y^e 26th, 1758.

MY DEAR MR. FOX.

I must own I am more unhappy than surpriz'd at the account I rec'd in y^r letter yesterday of poor dear Williams. Your description of his present state, if it is still not madness, is in my mind, nothing better. To have a total failure of memory and understanding from the ripest and best in the world is ten times more miserable than death, and as miserable as madness itself. I am glad to hear he is gone to Monmouthshire. I shou'd have been very unhappy at seeing him in his present state; and yet my regard for him is such, as will probably carry me to pay him a most unpleasant visit in Wales. I will have done with this distressfull subject after thanking you for sending me an account of him, who, I own, I love very much, and now look upon as lost.

¹ To England, for the winter.

² Sir Charles had returned to England in the previous year, in a state of health which at times bordered upon insanity. He died in 1759.

Our business here is at an end, and nothing but his Grace's obstinate Gout now detains us. Both Houses attended with their unanimous Addresses yesterday, and are adjourn'd till Saturday, when his Grace hopes to be well enough to go to the House and pass y^e Bills; but I do not think he will be well enough so soon, and don't expect to stir from hence these ten days. Here is nothing but Harmony and Peace, and I do believe no Lord Lieutenant ever parted with his Parliament in better humour. A circumstance happen'd yesterday that gave me, and will give you great pleasure to hear. I din'd at Lady Barrymore's with Lord and Lady Kildare, where his Lordship took an opportunity of desiring to be alone with me: when after discoursing a little of the awkwardness that had been between us for some time, he very kindly desir'd that might be at an end, and that we shou'd live and behave to one another, as we had done, or rather as we shou'd have done, had he been left in Govern^t, which he declar'd was entirely his own act, and that he laid it to his own door, and not at the D. of Bedford's, that he was left out. He gave me all assurances in the world of supporting our Administration and never going into opposition to it, telling me further that he shou'd go to the Lords Justices' first Levée, and to the swearing them in Council. In short, his whole temper and discourse was of a sort that gave me the greatest pleasure to hear, and has made the D. of Bedford very happy. I give you my word we leave this country with flying colours.

Adieu, my dear Sir, still for another fortnight, I fear,

RICHARD RIGBY.

MR. J. BRYANT¹ TO MR. FOX.

Mervelt. 9th September, 1758.

SIR.

Three Letters that you have been pleased to honour me with, came yesterday by an Express. I am very sorry you put yourself to a trouble so unnecessary, as I have received other sufficient marks of your favour and

¹ Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough.

After Cumberland's return to England and the repudiation of the Convention of Kloster-Zeven, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was placed in command of the army. Deciding to reinforce him with British troops, after he had pushed the French over the Rhine and defeated them at Creveld, Pitt despatched 8,000 men under Marlborough, who joined him in August.

goodness: nor is there any intelligence I can possibly transmit that will merit such a return. In respect to the armies, they are at present very quiet; nor is it possible to guess which way they will next move. The French are in separate Camps on the other side of the Lippe; one of which is opposite to Halleren, fronting to the West, and extending from the River beyond the Hills to the South. This is the most eastern of any part of their Grand Army, and consequently the most remote from Wesel and the Rhine. At Halleren is the Residence of the Hereditary Prince, and to the right a Camp under His command, consisting of seven Battal^s and fourteen Squadrons. They are so very near the enemy and the River is so narrow, that many Compliments and some hostilities are every day exchanged. Some French officers seeing Prince Ferdinand riding at a distance express'd a great desire to pay their Compliments to Him, which being represented to His Highness, He made no scruple of venturing to the banks of the Lippe, and conversed with them for some minutes: but this is not always safe. The Hereditary Prince was invited down with many marks of respect and civility, and a conversation was begun; when in the midst of this friendly interview, two field pieces were pointed, which they fired with a volley of smallarms upon Him. He escaped this danger as He has done a thousand before; for He is gallant to the highest degree, and exposes Himself too much for one of his great consequence. He was one of the foremost in crossing the Rhine, and the very last that repossessed it. What little matters are effected, are performed by the Hanoverian and Prussian Hussars. They are far superior to those of the Enemy in every respect, who dare not face them, tho' double in number. Col. Lukener made an inroad lately beyond Buren almost to Cassel and Warburgh, where the Camp is of Mons^r Soubise. It is said He had but a small party with him, yet He took fifty foot and thirty Dragoons prisoners with all the Bagage, Horses, &c. of the Regiment of Nassau, being in the whole a very rich booty. They have proceeded so far as to penetrate into the French Camp; and it is but three nights ago that Capt. Scheiter with sixty men swam their horses over the Lippe, and brought off thirty Dragoons and one hundred and forty head of Cattle. He had before been very fortunate in crossing the river lower down, where he performed a notable piece of service in intercepting some Couriers on their way. There were three packets taken containing the last instructions from the Court of Versailles, and at the same time certain advices and representations from the Armies. Our Grand Camp is to the North of Dulmen; at which place are the Head

Quarters. The farthest of all our outguards are the Chasseurs near Dorstein, close to whom are a body of Saxons, the only Troops in the French pay that are on this side of the River. These two Parties are within musquet shot of each other. There are some large detachments in Lippestadt under Gen^l Oberg and Hardenberg, which, if join'd to those under Isenberg, will be nearly a match for Mon^r Soubise.

We have to day, the 12th Sept., the agreeable news that His Prussian Majesty is within six leagues of Dresden; so that by this time He has joined Prince Henry, and probably fought another Battle.

I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Cowper, who dined yesterday with His Grace.

The Army is so fluctuating a body, that it is difficult determining the situation of the different parts. I take the liberty to inclose the List of the Forces and Line of Battle as it was order'd in August, with the several Camps and Detachments as they are this day, which may probably afford you some light and amusement.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient

and most obliged Humble

Servant,

JACOB BRYANT.

MR. J. CALCRAFT ¹ TO MR. FOX.

September the 19th, 1758.

DEAR SIR.

Your Servant has just brought me your letter, and gives me the satisfaction of hearing he left you well to day.

I don't find that any body treats our loss in the manner Mr. Blythe does, either at Court or elsewhere, and both Howe's letter and his are universally thought sad performances; every body I have talk'd with speaks of the

¹ John Calcraft (1726-1772). Originally a clerk at the Pay Office, he was moved to the War Office by Fox's influence, and later amassed an immense fortune by acting as agent for various regiments and by other similar methods. He deserted Fox for Pitt in 1763, notwithstanding his indebtedness to him and their friendship of long standing.

Generals exactly as you do.¹ Mr. Pitt treated them both with the utmost contempt in conversation with a friend of ours at Kensington, and what will surprize you, express'd himself about this descent as you do—said it cou'd answer no purpose. After this you will imagine the Troops are to go into Winter Quarters; but tho' that was Lord Ligonier's design yesterday morning, Mr. Pitt's orders alter'd it, and they are to encamp in the Isle of Wight, 'til they can get ready to go out again. I fear they are very sickly now, and this change from heat to cold will make them worse. Lord Anson is come home.

Sir John Armitage is dead of a Fever on board ship. Dury is said to be kill'd by our own People.

Mr. Pitt says he has had a [*illegible*] from Blythe, dated Plymouth, to let him know that one of The Duke D'Aguillon's² Aid de Camps, who came on board his Ship, told him the French had a General Officer, with several other Officers and 500 men, kill'd by our Grenad^{rs}, who behav'd most bravely.

The Dean of Kilfenora has had a [*illegible*] in a very different stile from Blythe's, and the writer says, *he* shall, when we see him, give a very different account to that sent by the General.

The King of Prussia has got to his army in Saxony with the same Troops he carry'd from Moravia, and an action between him and Daun is thought to have been over before this time.

Pray make my best compliments to Lady Caroline, and
Believe me, with the utmost Gratitude,

Dear Sir,

Most affectionately Yours,
J. C.

I send you two very souldier like letters from my friend Charles. Pray return them when you've read them. He took one horse, and I don't see how he can want another.

Bligh got to Spithead yesterday, and is expected at Kensington to morrow.

Mr. Pitt thinks, as do many others, that Blythe should have brought the French to an action, if possible, before he began his embarkation.

¹ General Bligh had been selected, with Admiral Howe, to command a further small descent upon the coast of France, as Marlborough and Lord G. Sackville had refused the military command, from dislike of these expeditions. Cherbourg was taken, but the attack on St Malo failed, and the force was only drawn off and re-embarked with the utmost difficulty.

² The French commander.

MR. J. CALCRAFT TO MR. FOX.

September the 21st, 1758.

DEAR SIR.

Mr. Cockburn says he shall after to morrow be able to answer my question with certainty. If unforeseen Resources are not found out, they can't go on.

The Clamour against Blythe is prodigious. Both King, Ministers, and People join in abusing him, and the Officers speak out more than ever I heard them. Clarke and Lord Fitzmaurice have been the only People ever consulted, and the former, who is more unpopular, if possible, than the General, is said to have Govern'd solely. Lord Howe and Blythe have both been sent for up, but neither are come yet, tho' most Impatiently expected at Kensington. The management at Cherbourg, tho' they were lucky enough to succeed there, is as much found fault with as on the last Invasion.

Dury was shott thro' the Breast, and got into the Water, but had not strength to get to the Boats.¹ His succession is gone through in the first Regiment.

Clavering has got great honour, by a disposition he made with 3 companys of Grenad^{rs}, who are said to have Repuls'd the Enemy twice from a Defilé they defended.

The Battallion of the 1st Regiment is so smash'd that it is orderd to Town, and one of the other Batt^{ns} of that Reg^t is to go in it's Place.

The Transports are victualling for three months. Six Thousand Ton are ordered to be got with all dispatch for some other new Service; and 2000 Ton to carry the drafts to America.

There has been a Strong Report this day or two of Regimenting the light Dragoons directly.

The Duke of Devonshire came to Town this morning, and an officer of Rank is going directly to France to settle the exchange of these Prisoners.

Ever, Dear Sir,

Most gratefully and affectionately,

Your's, J. C.

¹ General Drury was in command of the rearguard of 1,400 men, who were annihilated in covering the embarkation of Bligh's force at St Cast.

Rigby had so much curiosity, that he set out for Portsmouth at 5 o'clock yesterday morning to question Hale.

There has been a great dispute betwixt Cunningham the Engineer and Col^l Clarke, which is to end in a Court Martial.

I rather think the Expeditioners going out again doubtfull, tho' such Preparations are making.

MR. J. CALCRAFT TO MR. FOX.

September the 26th, 1758.

DEAR SIR.

In two other Packets you will receive your five Land Tax orders, which you will please to Indorse and Return me by the first Opportunity. Your name must be wrote on the back of the Printing, in the Presence of two Witnesses, and when they are carried so signd to the Bank, They tell me they will discount then. In the Interim, I have order'd Navy Bills of this month to be bought that you may not loose them, and I can pay for them 'til the Landtax Discount comes in.

Now to answer your letter of the 23^d. The transports that went with Bligh are not only continu'd in Pay, but victuall'd for Three months. The 6,000 Ton newly taken up are certainly for the Service you guess, and Keppel is to command the Fleet that goes with them. Howe keeps his command, and I do beleive the Intention is that they shall go again.

Lord Fitzmaurice went to Court Saturday but was taken no notice of. Bligh certainly consulted him, and I fear it was thro' him that Clarke govern'd the General. Bligh has delay'd his resignation a little on finding himself so violently in disgrace, but keeps his Resolution of Resigning, tho' there are doubts of The King's accepting of it.

Lord Howe was at Court to day, but I have not heard how he was receiv'd.

Maj^r General Elliott is sent for to Town to tell his Story. I hear he wrote to Lord Legonier to desire he might be call'd, if any body was bold enough to vindicate the loss of the Grenadeers at St Cass.

Clarke will, I think, make his Peace with the Ministers. With Lord Legonier He has done it, For he said yesterday:—"Why woud not Bligh fight them? Clarke tells me He begg'd and pray'd him to do so." Clarke has the

impudence to say that 9 times he did govern, but the 10th was the material one, and then the General wou'd not follow his advice.

Honeywood's nephew is dead, by which he comes into possession of the Family estate, about £3,000 a year, and a pretty place in Essex.

Lord Hardwicke is come to Town to look into poor Ensign Cocks' affairs, by whose death Lady Hardwicke gets £30,000. But even that does not put His Lordship in humour, for He thinks himself of late neglected by the Duke of Newcastle, and there is a Shyness between those two great Men.

Bob Sandford has conducted himself with more good sense than I thought him endowd with, and was the only Person at head Quarters respected by the army. He saw how things were going, so steer'd clear, and was civil to ev'ry Body.

Pray, with my best compliments to Lord Ilchester, tell Him I have had no answer from Hill, w^{ch} makes me think he cou'd not have got the letter. Jeffry's letter may be answer'd best by the Convoy, w^{ch} does not sail 'til the 15th next month, and by that time we shall know whether Cooper continues in his Reg^t or not—A question Lord Barrington asks me to day.

Ever, D^r Sir, most gratefully y^{rs},

J. C.

P.S. Seabright seems intended for a Aid du Camp, and Cary for 3^d Major for the 1st Regiment, if that Point can be carried with the King.

Clarke's affair with Cunningham is made up; it was about some military Nonsense.

The design undoubtedly was to attack St Maloes, and the language of those in the secret at 1st landing, was, that they shou'd take it to the eternal disgrace of the Duke of M. and Lord George¹ . . . *Pretty Indecent to them.*

What the orders sent after they left Weymouth were, I cant learn. But they were landed before any Gott to them.

MR. J. CAMPBELL TO MR. FOX.

Stackpole Court. Sept. 26, 1758.

DEAR S^r.

I am truely thankfull for your most friendly congratulation on my sons' safety. I did not know the extent of the danger they were in, till yesterday's Post. If that account is true, the ffrench were very near getting between

¹ The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, who had preferred to accept commands in Germany.

them and the sea, with a superior Force. In that case they must all have been Prisoners, or been cut in Pieces. If People loose their Relations or friends in a rational Service, they must lament but they cannot complane, and they have a real Comfort to support them in their affliction. They whose friends have been sacrificed in this, as it appears to me, most absurd expedition, have indeed occasion for more than human Patience. To land Troops with design to attempt a Town, which the same Troops had a little before found it impracticable to attack by Land, and where the Rocks had shewn them the Fleet could not assist; To let a small army on Shoar in an Enemies' Country, where they knew not what Force might come against them, or how soon it might come, in a Place where the Fleet could not take them on board again, but was obliged to go several days march distant from the landing. Surely this was madness, and such madness as I think no Soldier or Sailor could have been guilty of, unless obliged by orders from an Office, from whence wee have seen reason to expect everything that can procede from mad ambition, mean Popularity, Pride, and the most intemperate Passion. I cannot help believing that H.H. was the Sole Author of the Project, and left his Brother M——rs (I beg his pardon for using such terms of equality) no other share than that of mean Submission. Can you then blame me for wishing you a Minister. I do not say you could extricate your Country out of the present dangers and difficulties, and procure a safe and honorable Peace. But I am sure you would not precipitate us to Ruin; you would not expose our Troops in this manner, nor add Disgrace to Misfortune; and make us, in the midst of our Calamity, the Objects rather of Scorn and Derision than of Pity. I was much ashamed of our most childish Cannon Triumph, before I heard of the smart rebuke our folly met at St Cas. But how ridiculous and contemptible must it now appear to all the world. Surely even the unthinking mob must see themselves abused.

I am allways, Dear Sr,

Your obliged and affectionate friend and

Servant,

J. CAMPBELL.

After all I have said, I do not wish that you should attempt to make yourself a Minister. I am sure you scorn the means others have made use of to rise by infamy to Power. Indeed you could have no occasion for such Lyes as have been spread to blast your character; for others have furnish'd

Truths enough to satisfy any reasonable men. But such indeed, in factious times, have little weight. Like a talkative old man, I tire you often with prating about things you know much better than I. I know no particulars of the late Disaster but from News Papers.

MR. J. CALCRAFT TO MR. FOX.

September the 28th, 1758.

DEAR SIR.

I am very glad you think my letters worth having, so shall continue writing whilst I have any thing to tell you.

There was Conciliab.¹ last Tuesday night, to consider if Blythe's conduct shou'd be Inquir'd into, and several officers have been much question'd to see if a charge cou'd be made out against him. But I hear none cou'd be brought strong enough; so soothing measures have been since follow'd, and the King's not admitting him to kiss hands interpreted to be a Blunder of Lord Fauconberg, who was in Waiting and had good nature enough to intimate to Blythe that he had orders not to Introduce him, so hop'd by staying from Kensington The General wou'd prevent his having the disagreeable office of refusing that ceremony. Blythe means to have his conduct stated to the King, and hopes to acquit himself there. He then is positively resolv'd to Resign, For nothing shall make him continue in the Service after such usage.

Lord Howe, tho well receiv'd at Court, is much out of humour, and says he will not be easily persuaded to Serve again.

Lord Dunmore resign'd yesterday.

The Duke spoke to Rigby about Fitzwilliams on Sunday, but as he went to Mistley the next day, I don't know what pass'd.

The Isle of Wight Camp is breaking up, so expeditions for this summer to France seem over.

Armiger's Regiment is order'd to go with The Buffs, Elliott's, Watson's, and Barrington's, under Keppel's convoy, and I have some Reason to think Mostyn is to be the commander with Maj^r General Elliott for His Governor and Second.

Blythe is hurt prodigiously by his old Friend Lord Legonier's behaviour

¹ Conciliabulum, the inner circle of the Cabinet Council, a word coined by Lord Granville.

to Him, from whom he expected Protection, having liv'd many years in Intimacy with His Lordship.

Lady Burlington's will is strongly in the Duke of Devonshire's favour.

The King is borrowing more money as Elector of Hannover; which West thinks The Paym^r Gen^l and Treasurer of the Navy shou'd lend. But Gideon has undertaken it.

I am,

D^r Sir,

Most unalterably

Yours, J. C.

MR. J. BRYANT TO MR. FOX.

Mervelt. October 1st, 1758.

SIR.

His Grace the D. of M. orders me to acquaint you that He has received your Letter, approves of it, and has burnt it. That in respect to the Lieut. Col., it is quite clear.

I write this at a very short warning, taking the opportunity of an Express sent by the Duke of B.¹ to the Hague. We have been under great expectations of an Engagement to day. The Army was ordered to be in readiness from one in the Morning, but after loss of rest and some fatigue. nothing has come of it. The whole was owing to false intelligence, and a notion that six thousand French had pass'd the Lippe near Dorstein and had advanced to Wollfen, all which was intirely groundless. Many are still sanguine that there will be a Battle in a day or two: but it is quite beyond me to form any judgement upon it. It is certain the enemy have of late made certain motions. On Friday they pass'd the Lippe near Lunen, and having seiz'd on the Chateau of Cappenberg, advanced between Bockum and Olphen, where they well nigh surprised the Prince of Holstein, who was encamped there with eight Battalions and some Cavalry. But He retreated, and they retired. They were in number about ten thousand. It is said they have since broke down their bridges at Lunen and Werne, and that the Saxons, who had been detach'd to the right as far as Brockhusen are recall'd. It is mention'd as a certainty that Oberg and Isenberg are join'd, and are at

¹ Brunswick.

Cassel; which must necessarily impede the retreat of Prince Soubise towards Hanau, and may probably occasion a Battle between them.

The weather begins to be very cold, and the army is by no means so healthy as could be wish'd. Yet both to day and on Friday there was an appearance of great spirit and alacrity, and every man in the Hospital, the least capable of doing duty, turn'd out. As the French, whenever they go into Winter Quarters, will be glad to make their retreat on this side the Lippe to Wesel, the Camp of the Hereditary Prince at Halteren must necessarily be an eyesore to them on account of its vicinity to Dorstein. Most of their late motions seem to tend to this one point, to make a change of disposition in this Camp; but as yet without effect. In the late affair near Borkum about twenty seven men were killed, and there are an hundred and fifty missing. The Prince of H. and Gen^l Waggenheim lost their Bagage. The Gen^l is an excellent officer, and gave the best intelligence and best advice, but I believe the other was not in a capacity to receive it. I am affraid, according to our English phrase, he was overtaken.

The Duke of M. was a little indisposed after the fatigue of the day; but one good night's rest will, I hope, recruit him.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most Humble Servant,

JACOB BRYANT.

Had the Allied Army engaged yesterday, the whole of it would have amounted to thirty-one Batt. and sixty-two Squadrons. The French have about double, but their Battal^s are very weak, some having not an hundred and eighty effective. Our Foreign Battalions are very strong.

MR. J. BRYANT TO MR. FOX.

Munster, 21st October, 1758.

SIR.

I sent you an account of the Duke of Marlborough's indisposition by a letter on the 17th, and there seem'd at that time to be a fair prospect of a speedy recovery. But all our flattering views are at an end; and I have nothing to present you with but a blank and melancholy conclusion. After much strength exerted, and a train of favourable symptoms that serv'd only to amuse and deceive, the affair yesterday came to a crisis, and at last fatally

determined. The Great and Noble Spirit that surmounted for a while with much patience and superiority many painfull struggles sunk at last, and yielded to the inveteracy of the distemper.¹ This, Sir, will be cruel news to you, whose Humanity and Friendship will be most sensibly affected: but afflicting as the subject is, I thought it my Duty to give you the earliest intimation of this sad affair. L^d Blandford (I cannot yet call Him by any other Title) is well, but in much trouble, as may easily be supposed. In a few days, I imagine, He will set out for England. I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most Humble Servant,

JACOB BRYANT.

MR. J. CALCRAFT TO MR. FOX.

November the 14th, 1758.

DEAR SIR.

My last night's letter wou'd tell you I cannott get to Bath this week, as I fully intended. I have so many Colonels in town, who think they have a deal of Business, and woud think they had a deal more and that it would not go on if I went out of Town.

By what I hear The Duke's Gout will keep him in Town, tho' he intends it sha'nt, and fixes in his own mind to go to Windsor the latter end of the week.

The King got cold the day he came to Town. He woud have the Coach Window down, tho' the wind was North East. He did not go to Chapel Sunday, but was at his drawing Room. I thought look'd pretty well, tho' other People did not. Yesterday he went to Bed after breakfast, but got up again to his dinner, and eat very heartily of just such a Partridge Pye as I had the Pleasure once to give Lady Caroline and you in Brewer Street. To day he continues better, and has done Business with Mr. Pitt. It is Prodigiously ridiculous to think how sure a certain family, who Mr. Rigby liv'd near when last in Town, made themselves yesterday that all was over, and what spirits they were in.

The Town is quite sure that Mr. Pitt and his Brethren have quarelld,

¹ A virulent fever, which had attacked many of the troops.

and that he is going out directly, for which I don't believe there is the least foundation.

I sat an hour with poor Mr. Bryant this morning, who is, as you may imagine, very melancholy; he tells me that Wintringham found the poor Duke's lungs so gone, that had he survived this illness, He could not have liv'd a year.

By the Will now found, w^{ch} was made just before He went to St Maloes in a great hurry, The Duke of Bedford, Lord Fane, Lord Bateman, and Butcher are trustees. But it is thought there is another made betwixt His Return from France and going to Germany, in which you are one, and in which too He has made a Request to his Son to let The Dutchess have Langley for her life.

For the Lottery account of to day I will refer you to a separate letter that I will write on Receiving tonight's Reports from the Ally; and it will be near eleven before they come. Perry is unluckily too ill to attend; He did sell our 1st 200 Tickets, and did them very ill, because his health requir'd his getting home soon.

Pray make my best compliments to Lady Caroline and Miss Cheeke, and tell her Ladyship I have forwarded her letter. Many thanks for their kind Invitation. I do assure you I wou'd give a great deal to have been this week at Bath with you; I shou'd have lik'd it most excessively.

Mr. Rigby begs his compliments. He wrote you an account of poor Sir Charles and the Birthday Dinner.

The King is very angry at the translation of Lady Betty's letter.

Ever most affectionately and Gratefully y^{rs},

J. C.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO MR. FOX.

Arlington Street.

March 11th, 1759.

DEAR S^r.

I will not trouble you with an apology for sending *you* one of the inclosed volumes: almost every one of the pieces in it wanted an apology so long ago, that now it would do them no service.¹ The best excuse for them is that they are here assembled as the last of their race, at least (for I don't

¹ *Fugitive Pieces*, printed at Strawberry Hill, and dedicated to General Conway.

trust myself with making authors' resolutions) if I write any more, it will be nothing that will appear a great while. The real business of this letter is to beg you to offer one of these volumes to Ld Berkeley. I cannot have the confidence to send it him myself, and am ashamed to do it even by you; but as you told me he did me the honour to order me to send him any thing I shd write, it would be more arrogant to decline sending than to send this. He will see by the Dates that several things here were written before I could almost be expected to write well, some when I certainly ought to have written better. However I will not do still worse.

As I have printed very few copies, I could wish you would not mention it to any body. I want to depart as an author without noise or ceremony: I have taken a thorough aversion to the profession, and I will play the fool for the future in a less serious way.

Adieu! Dear S^r, I wish I could hear a better account of your son.

Y^{rs} ever,

H. WALPOLE.

MR. MURPHY¹ TO MR. FOX.

SIR.

I am quite in confusion to be for ever troublesome to you, and I sink under the repeated acts of Politeness and Generosity, with which you so nobly overLoad me. I was with Mr. Garrick Yesterday Evening, when you did me the Honour of sending to me, and, in order to avoid the appearance of Levying contributions, had resolved to print no Authors Ticketts; but since you have, in so graceful and condescending a manner put that out of my power, I have this moment ordered the Printer to get me some ready, and shall as soon as Possible comply with your Commands.

Since the Time that you were pleased to endure a reading of the Play and to Encourage its author, it has ever been my Ambition to Dedicate it in a public manner to you. I determined to be Silent on this Head till I saw its fate with the Public, and as they have been favourable beyond my warmest hopes, I am now Emboldened to solicit your Permission. I am press'd to this, Sir, by Every motive. In the words of a much Greater

¹ Arthur Murphy (1727-1805), author and actor. *The Orphan of China*, the play dedicated to Mr. Fox, was the first tragedy written by him.

man than such a writer as I can pretend to be, but to a Person very inferior and Different from The Right Hon^{ble} H. F. (Mr. Pope to Lord Bolingbroke), "You are my Guide, Philosopher, and friend." From you, Sir, I was more instructed in the rules of English Versification than from all the writers I had met with on the Subject. I flatter myself the Play will be found much improved in that Respect, and I have paid a strict attention to all your Criticisms. The same faults you certainly will not find, and upon the whole I think the Piece more Excusable than when you were so Generous as to take it under your Protection. May I therefore Inscribe the Play to the Right Hon^{ble} H. F.?

Upon a Presumption that you will not refuse me, I shall take the Liberty to send you a Plan of a Dedication, such as I would chuse to Prefix to it, for your Perusal, Lest I should say any thing improper or disagreeable to your way of thinking. I flatter myself I shall point out a reason arising from the Piece itself and some Circumstances of your Character, why I cannot Elsewhere Chuse a Patron. I hope, therefore, that you will have no Secret objection to it, and that I shall have the honour of laying the *Orphan of China* at your feet.

I am with the highest respect, gratitude, and attachment,

Sir,

Your most oblig'd and humble St,

ARTHUR MURPHY.

Lincoln's Inn. 23rd April, 1759.

I shall go instantly to the House to secure a Stage Box for Lady Hillsborough, which you may depend will be complied with; and this evening or tomorrow I shall trouble you with another Letter.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO MR. FOX.

Arlington Street.

May 8th, 1759.

DEAR S^r.

It is not worth troubling Ld Marchmont with a letter on purpose, and woud look too officious abt a trifle, as I have not the honour of knowing him, but if you see him and remember it, will you be so good to tell him, that in the new catalogue of the Harleian M.S.S. numb. 1073.8 mention is made of the original warrant of *Charles 2^d* for the coronets of Barons. For S^r G.

Mackensie, it was a blunder of my own, and a very careless one, as I have the book itself.

I cannot help mentioning to you another curiosity, relating to yourself. In the same Harleian Collection is a book of arms and pedigrees. In numb. 1072.51 are recorded 27 different coats born by the name of Fox. I would ask any who questions your family, whether they believe that you are not descended of any one of these twenty seven branches? If they doubt it, their Faith is as great per contra as that of any genealogist that ever existed! adieu!

Y^{rs} ever,

H. WALPOLE.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO MR. FOX.

Arlington Street.

Feb. 6, 1760.

DEAR S^r.

I told you, I think, that my ld Lyttelton had heard of a Monument to be placed in the Abbey for S^r Charles Williams. As I loved Him, it naturally came into my head to make an epitaph for Him; but I dont intend it should be seen, nor were it necessary w^d the Dean and Chapter, I suppose, allow Semele Christian burial. Here it is; you are not obliged to like it.

Adieu! bright Genius, dangerously Great!
Like the fond Theban Maid's thy signal Fate.
Lightnings or Inspirations are the same,
Alike th' Ambitious Bard, th' ambitious Dame.
Too near to Madness are fine Parts allied:
Both wish'd the glorious Blaze by which ye Died!

I propose some time or other with y^r leave to come to Holland House, and write a few notes to his Poems;¹ and I shall in the mean time draw up a little account of Him, and will give it you for y^r Manuscript. I need not say to you, that all this will be a secret to every body else.

Adieu!

Y^{rs} ever,

H. WALPOLE.

¹ Published subsequently in three volumes.

MR. G. SELWYN TO MR. FOX.

Matson. Thursday.

DEAR S^R.

I did not mean to have given you the Trouble which I have done. Your Letter, and half your Letter was enough, but I'm much obliged for all. Ld FitzMaurice has been so good as to confirm the Hint you have given me. In Regard to the Memb^{rs} for L. the name of one is a Stranger, but the other pleases me much, because being one you mentioned before, when I was trying to humbugg S^r James L., that was one which you recommended.

If Dick's Health depends upon his Resolution, I am afraid it is a bad tenure by which he holds his Life. I am sorry that Midhurst is in Statu quo; but am not surprized, if the accomodation has had no other negotiator than Cha^s T.¹ I do not think the Talent of that Family is accomodating any others but themselves. You surprize me that Hayes has been thought of for Chief Justice for Ireland. I remember him a very officious Preposter.

My Election here² will, I believe, be tomorrow sevensnight and over that Day. Nothing can withstand my popularity; but Barrow and Snell, I am afraid, will come in whip and spurr. Luggershall will be the Wenesday after. I have left that to another accomodating Branch of the Family, my nephew, and he tells me that he has so contrived it for my sake, because some of his are to be constituents of M^r. Paterson. I shall be able then to kiss your Hands the latter end of next week, and perhaps that is all, for Ld March³ seems to have a mind I should then go to another Election, which is that of the sixteen Peers. If he makes a point of it, I believe he will carry it; but I hope he will not.

Two of my voters were murdered yesterday by an experiment which we call shopping, that is, locking them up and keeping them dead Drunk to the day of Election. Mr. Snell's agents forced two single Selwyns into a post chaise, where, being suffocated with the Brandy y^t was given them and a very fatt man that had the custody of them, they were taken out Stone dead. Here follows a Hanging; in short, it is one roundeau of delights. I am,

most respectfully and most affectionately
yours.

Received March 21, 1761.

¹ Charles Townshend.

² The borough of Gloucester.

³ William, third Earl of March and fourth Duke of Queensberry (1724-1810). He was better known later in life under the appellation of "Old Q."

Rigby to Fox

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

St. James' Place.

2nd May, 1761.

DEAR MR. FOX.

I have never been out of my house since we parted at the Hazard Table at Bedford House, and write to you more to lament the want of your charitable visits than from having any news to send you. The Gazette Extraordinary has told you of our victories;¹ but it did not tell you that Colonel Lambert had cur'd the Gout by climbing up a rock, as well as taken an Island. It had that effect, however, for Pitt, who was before confin'd, carried the letters to the King himself. Saint Lambert could not have done more, if he had bid him rise, take up his bed, and walk. Lord Temple says it is a goad in their side, that will prick them to cry out for peace. I wish it may not confirm us in our Knight Errantry, and, since we so easily conquer flocks of Sheep, send us to attack more Windmills. The letters which the *Aetæon* has brought, who arriv'd since the *Achilles*, had given the project quite over, and are dated three days only before the landing was effected.

Stanley, I suppose you have heard, goes to Paris in exchange of M. Bussy who comes here.²

Lord Bute has been out of order for three or four days, but nothing dangerous. Lord Edgcumbe, I hear, mends, but Ward says his medicines have not all the effect he expected, which I think looks ill.

The Knights of the Bath give a Ball at the Opera House at their Installation. Pray get Lady Sarah's³ pretty leg well by that time.

Adieu, Dear Sir,

Ever y^{rs},RICH^d RIGBY.

M. VOLTAIRE TO MR. FOX.

aux Délices, près de Genève.

25 juillet, 1761.

MONSIEUR.

you are born to do good, and I have a mind to do good: in Spite of war, protect the Shakespear of France. my proposal is modest, the work is

¹ At Belleisle, on the coast of France.² Hans Stanley (1720?-1780).³ Lady Sarah Lennox, Lady Caroline Fox's younger sister, who had broken her leg by falling from her horse.

usefull.¹ Corneille, his offspring, and I myself, we will most oblig'd to you and to english generosity. I hope y^r Son is in good health.² you may be sure I have pay'd to him all the respect and attentions he deserves.

I am, with the utmost gratitude,

Monsieur,

votre très humble et

très obéissant Serviteur,

VOLTAIRE.

EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. FOX.

Hanover Square. Dec^r 16, 1761.

DEAR SIR.

My Head ach'd so much yesterday, that I was not as clear a Judge as I wish'd when you ask'd me about your speaking. I have since been thinking of what the Duke of Cumberland said, and I own I differ from him.³ Consistency and a Firm uniformity of conduct forms a great, I mean a distinguish'd and commendable Part of Mr. Fox's character as to the Publick. The contrary is Mr. Pitt's. Therefore Personal Considerations (with regard to the Spanish Papers) make Mr. Pitt not scruple to put the Nation in a repeated Flame upon account of his own Justification. This is according to himself, and This in my opinion No Man is warranted in doing. And I am persuaded, If ever you chuse to speak again and then declare this to have been the motive of your Conduct, which I do believe to have been the real one, It will meet with much more Success in every light, than being drawn in prematurely, I mean with regard to your own Sentiment, into a Sea of Altercation for no wise end. In the mean time Mr. Fox has, what Mr. Pitt shews he has not, tho' he borrow'd the Expression, his Justification, and in consequence contentment, in his own Breast. I write this in a Hurry as it occurs.

¹ A new edition of Corneille's works was printed in 1764, with notes by Voltaire.

² Stephen, Fox's eldest son.

³ Bute had now superseded Pitt, whose patience was exhausted by the refusal of the Cabinet to declare war against Spain. Shelburne was employed by him to win Fox's support for the Peace, at the price of a peerage for Lady Caroline. "Mr. Fox will attend every day, and will, either by silence or by speaking, as he finds it prudent according to the occasion, do his best to forward what your lordship wishes, and *will enter no sort of engagement with anyone else whatever.*" (Shelburne to Bute, October 31.)

I find Col^l Barré's Conduct, however blam'd, meets with Partizans.¹ You will hear what Ld B. says of It. The D. of N.,² like an artfull as well as wise Minister, told the K. among other things of his Ingratitude to Pitt. He succeeded in making him laugh, and in giving him occasion to explain what I did imperfectly to you before. I find it much approv'd in that Quarter. Inclos'd, I trouble you with a Letter of Sullivan's. If you'll be so good to make Lady Sarah sensible, if she is not already, of my obligation for this Hon^r she does my Friend.

Believe me to be,

most sincerely yours,

SHELBURNE.

EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. FOX.

Bowood Park, in Wilts. Dec^r 26 [1761].

DEAR SIR.

If you had not oblig'd me by two of your own Letters, I should have written to thank you for recommending me Ld Rochester's. I read two of your Books that day at Whitton, and two others since I came here. Never were Wise and deep Reflections on Life and Mankind sure so wittily express'd as by Lord Rochester. As for Honesty, I wish some Honest Man would write an account of it, and what it is. At present It seems reduc'd to a certain droiture in private Friendship. Yet I would as soon take Ld Rochester for the Hero of it as Mr. Pratt, if he pretended to refuse rising in his Profession on account of his attachment to Mr. Pitt, who never had any to any man, and has fail'd lately in the most Essential to his Country. But I am afraid Honesty is yet to be reduc'd lower.

As for going to France or Spain I know no more of it than those do, I suppose, who report it; except what I have often told you, that instead of going to the country, I should be glad to go in general South for *my own* amusement. This is most opposite to what you hint at. As for employment, if you saw me here, you would not think I wanted that; which nothing can effect here except a bad day, and where my ambition will be much flatter'd if you and Lady Caroline will do me the Honour to come and see it, whenever

¹ Col. Barré had also recently joined the Peace party.

² Newcastle remained Prime Minister, until forced by ill treatment to resign in the course of the following May.

It is finish'd enough to receive you. As no one is with more warm regard and Truth both yours and her Ladyship's

Very Humble Serv^t,

SHELburne.

At present I have no thought of returning to London speedily, and if the Queen's Birthday is y^e 18th, am ballancing whether I shall not stay till it is over; which whatever you may do, I am sure Lady Caroline will approve.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, TO MR. FOX.

Windsor Great Lodge. May y^e 1st, 1762.

MR. FOX. I most heartily and sincerely rejoyce that at last you have got your family in possession of the Peerage.¹

I am very sensible of both Lady Caroline's and your manner of giving me so great a Share in it, and you are both convinced that no one could wish it with more warmth than I did. You will be so good as to make Lady Caroline my compliments on the Ocasion. Indeed, Fox, I am obliged to those that did it, whether they did for you or me or perhaps both; as I know it gives you great pleasure.

Things must go admirably well at court, that Ld Bute has no fault to find with the Duke of Newcastle but his having published the list of Peers to be made; but that, and the excuse of not acquainting me with it, I take as I ought, that is with respect, and whether true or not is a civil Court compliment.

I hope the journey to the Sea-side will prove a short and speedy cure, and that you may want no more remedies, but become as sanguine about your own health as I am of what I so much wish, ever yours,

WILLIAM.

EARL OF ILCHESTER TO MR. FOX.

Tuesday. May 18th, 1762.

DEAR BROTHER.

I was this morning with the Duke of Newcastle: He kept me a considerable time. He talked very politely and friendly. I told him I hoped the reports of his resigning his employments were without foundation. He said

¹ Lady Caroline Fox was created Baroness Holland, of Holland, co. Lincoln, in her own right, on May 6.

nothing could be more certain; his stay where he was was not wish'd or desired, and then, at his time of life, there was but one thing to do. He seemd to complain of not having been well treated the 2 or three last times in the closet. The first time he there mentiond his intentions of retiring he was civilly treated and desired to consider, and it was hoped he would alter his resolutions, but since that time he has had no gracious or even civil words said to him *there*. The last time, which I fancy was yesterday, all that was said to him was, "Do you intend living at Claremont?" which when the Duke of Devon. had told and expostulated with Lord B.¹ upon it, his Ldship replied, "Why I should not have liked that myself." His Grace told me that the D. of Devon. and Lord Mansfield had said every-thing that could be said against driving him to these extremities, but they made no impression on Ld B. Lord Mansfield *pleaded*, he said, once a full hour to convince Ld B. that he was going to act much against his own interest, but he pleaded without effect. Upon the whole, he commended my Lord Mansfield very much, and seem'd thoroughly satisfied with his conduct in this affair. When I complimented him he seemd to like it, and said after 45 years service he did not think of being dismiss'd in this manner. He said Ld B. had some good qualitys, but he believ'd he depended too much upon the loaves and fishes. He said he desired a continuation of my friendship though out of employment; he enquired after you, and talk'd a great deal of Lady Sarah. "Pray tell her I said civil things to Lord Barrington about her gown;" not a word of her last speech concerning him. When I told him how much obliged and how fond Lady Sarah was of him, he simperd and look'd pretty, and said Mr. Wood would rather pay the custom duty out of his pocket than that the Beautyfull young Lady should be disappointed.

The house of Lords adjourn'd over to day, or else I should perhaps have picked up some more news.

The Duke of Newcastle said Ld B. said there must be some changes. His Grace seemd to think there would be a little confusion. S^r Charles Sheffield is to be made Lord Mulgrave, of Ireland, and it is reported Mr. Shelley may be made an English peer, if Newcastle will ask for it.

Mr. Mildmay is just come in, which interrupts, so I shall draw to a conclusion.

I saw Lord Moreton to day, who talk'd about the beauty of Chiswick gardens, about the angles & Barbadoes and the quantity of fine fruit there

¹ Lord Bute.

was. I could not help thinking how lucky it would have been for you, if Chiswick had fallen to your share instead of Holland House.

I have just heard Lord De Lawarr was taken ill this morning in an ugly manner, which I am extremely sorry for.

Adieu, yours sincerely,

ILCHESTER.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

St. James's Place.

20th May, 1762.

DEAR MR. FOX.

You have hitherto lost no events by your absence; nobody is yet out, nor do I know who is to come in when any body does go out. Charles Townshend has betted me twenty guineas that Lord Bute does not take the Treasury Himself, when the D. of Newcastle resigns it next tuesday or wednesday or tomorrow sen'night, for all these days are mentioned for that fatal event. I think I shall win however.¹

The same undoubted intelligence tells me that Geo. Grenville has refused being Chanc^r of the Exchequer, nor will He take it himself, as He says. Some People yesterday named Lord Halifax and Legge for the two first at the Treasury Board, but I doubt y^t Intelligence. There is to be a Debate in y^e House of Lords next week, when our Bill gets there with the appropriating Clauses of the Million. Lord Temple will deliver his opinion upon the Portugal Measure, and hopes y^e D. of Newcastle will join Him. I hear no resignations talk'd of by way of Satellites, except Lord Lincoln's Bedchamber and Lord Rockingham's. The Duke of Devon. told Lord Gower He shou'd go to Chatsworth as this afternoon till the Birthday, when He gives a dinner, but Lord Thomond told me last night that his Grace's journey wou'd be postponed. As He desires to absent Himself from Council, He might as well be in Derbyshire.

The Peace, they say, hobbles on; Viri's² son went to Paris yesterday w^h some Instructions about it. I wish it as much success as I do either branch of

¹ Lord Bute formed an administration when Newcastle retired. George Grenville was one of the Secretaries of State, Sir Francis Dashwood Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Halifax First Lord of the Admiralty.

² M. de Viry, the Sardinian Minister.

the administration. The Duke of Bedford remains at Woburn till next week; Lord Bute corresponds with Him upon foreign affairs only.¹ You lost a most incomparable Tragi-Comedy by not dining at Lord Gower's last Tuesday. Charles Townshend and Selwyn performed two principal parts, and for five hours attacked each other with the whole force of their Parts, but Selwyn vanquished Him totally; even Lord George is not more sensible of his defeat.

Granby and Waldegrave have taken leave of the King, and go tomorrow. I hear the Duke and Dutchess of Richmond are going to Ireland; Lord Kildare took his leave of the King yesterday.

Adieu, Dear Sir, pray make my compliments to Lady Holland and that beautifull Sister of Her's.

I am, y^{rs} ever,

RICHARD RIGBY.

EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH TO MR. FOX.

DEAR SIR,

I rejoice that Ld. Halifax² is arrived well; if he did not meet with Welcome, his merit would be ill rewarded. I very sincerely wish he may, and believe he will remove all cause of discontent from the Marquiss's mind.

I love and honour Ly Holland, and am happy when she recollects anything concerning me; but if I was in the wrong (as I certainly was) in defending the odious Primate against you, she can recollect many instances in our disputes when I have been in the right. I could mention some who have the title of Grace as well as that Primate. I think I shall never agree with you about poor Ireland. The more I see and know of it, the more convinced I am that there is at least as much worth in it as in other countries, tho' it has almost every disadvantage and discouragement to struggle with, the repeated misrepresentation of every thing belonging to it not one of the least, especially as it has been made to those who have the Government of it, or at least ought to Govern it; for there seems nothing like Government in it, nor can it be otherwise in a Country where the most unfit are sent or appointed

¹ Bedford had been appointed Privy Seal in November 1761, and was sent to Paris to negotiate the peace in September 1762.

² Appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1761. He was sent to the Admiralty in June 1762, but was to be allowed to remain in Ireland for a year from that date. In October, however, he became Secretary of State.

to every office of Government. And this I take upon me to say, from accurate observation, this winter is the case; and were I to judge from the Bishops, Judges, &c., &c., I should agree with you about poor Ireland; but they do not constitute what I call Ireland, and are indeed but a very worthless part of it.

As to poor England, if I were to form my opinion of the Nation, either from the Administrations who have governed it since you quitted or the Lords and Commons who have obsequiously, not to say meanly, submitted to the contradictory Edicts of those Administrations, perhaps I might judge as unfavourably of that Country as you do of this. If you was to set about it, don't you think you could match the Deceit and treachery and Ingratitude and silly Ambition of our Primate among those who are disputing whether the Country shall be ruined in Germany or Portugal?

I shall be very sorry that Ld Halifax should be removed from the Lieutenantcy. He certainly means well and acts ably, and will do poor Ireland some service if he continues, altho' the Primate has done and is doing all he can to disturb and prevent him. If I could appoint his Successor it should be Lord Kildare, but I fear that will not happen; whoever it is, I pray you will not let Him be a Primate's Man.

Lady Holland used to be a little jealous of us when you loved us better than you do; but she need not shorten y^r Letters. There is no fear of y^r making them too long now. The story of Mr. Nedham's £500 in the house of Commons is too long to trouble you with here; when we meet you shall have it.

Lady H. sends you her Compliments; she wrote to the Princess last post.

I am always, my Dear Sir,

Most faithfully y^{rs},

HILLSBOROUGH.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO EARL OF ILCHESTER.¹

Strawberry hill.

July 29th, 1762.

MY LORD.

When people disoblige one, they hate one; when they oblige one, they are full of thanks. The Latter is some amends for the former, and therefore I take it as of course. Otherwise I must be miserably ashamed, when I find y^r Lordship thanking me for passing the most agreeable fortnight imaginable.

¹ Melbury MSS.

Why, if you was the crossest of Beings, and Lady Ilchester the worst bred, and Lady Susan the most disagreeable, do you think that showing me Redlinch, Melbury, Sherburn, and Mr. Hoare's, woud not have contented me?¹ Come again? Yes, I will, and shall like it so much, that I expect you will be all gratitude. But you are not quite so well with Strawberry as with me. I have done nothing but abuse it since I came home; I have called it Hovel & cottage, and told it that it was not worthy of standing in the House-keeper's room at Melbury. I have mortified the Thames, that used to fancy itself the only water in the world, with asking for it's cascades, and telling it how paltry it looked without the Ruins of a Castle on Richmond hill. I have broken all my orange-trees with hunting for goldfinches' nests, and tore my sheets with hanging them cross my cows. In short, I am so out of humour since I came home, and so envious, that I beleive I shall murder a couple of my neighbours and cram them into a pit with a grate over them, that I may have something at least like what I have been seeing. If you have a mind, my Lord, to make me any reparation for the damage you have done me, you must at least send me Lady Fanny.² My compliments to her and all Paradise, my Love to Miss Cheek, and my hate to Mr. Berkeley.

I am, my Lord,

y^r Lordship's

most obliged, tho angry,

humble Ser^t,

HOR. WALPOLE.

EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. FOX.

Hill Street. August 10, 1762.

DEAR SIR.

Every step of the Negotiation which you were told before you left Town is now the Universal Subject of Conversation.³ Calcraft has told you of

¹ Redlynch and Melbury belonged to Lord Ilchester, and Sherborne to Lord Digby. Mr. Hoare's residence was Stourhead. Lord Ilchester kept a herd of "sheet" cows at Redlynch, to which allusion is made.

² Lady Frances Muriel Fox-Strangways, Lord Ilchester's youngest daughter, who married the Earl of Dunraven in 1777.

³ War had been declared with Spain early in January, as Pitt had foretold, upon the discovery of the terms of the secret "Family Compact" between France and Spain. This had seriously complicated the negotiations for peace with the former nation. Viry was acting as intermediary between the British and French Governments.

the News that came on Tuesday from France. Viry denies having receiv'd any Letters. He thinks it possible they may have come with the Cartel ship that brought the Count de Mazin, Knight of Maltha, who came yesterday. Viry was in the country when he arriv'd, but he shew'd me his *Secretary's* Letters, which contain nothing.

Since I wrote the above I have seen Lord Bute. He is sure of a Peace, and says that to day or to morrow the Council must determine, as *he is sure* the Messenger will arrive to night. They have had private Letters from France, which say the whole turn'd upon Mons^r. Grimaldi;¹ that they were determin'd to accept the last propositions and agree in the full extent. But It was necessary the King of France himself should write a *Declaratory* Letter to the King of Spain of his Intentions, and likewise, *for the sake of Form*, wait an answer, if the Spanish ambassador does not give way as to the necessity of the last Point. They were in hopes he would, but if they do not, Ld Bute depends upon the last papers, unsigned as they are and unratified, as what he calls binding, in consequence of a Paragraph in a former dispatch of the French, that if it should come to any such dilemma they should be so to all intents and purposes. This Justifys Monsieur de Viry's opinion that they ought not to have sent the last dispatch, that there was a time for talking and a time for writing, that it ought to be then left to the D. of Bedford² and taken out of his hands, that the advantages were all of our side, that the Duke of Bedford need not ratifie if this was not done. This is pretty much what you said in Hill Street. Ld Bute is no way concern'd as to the event of the Havannah³ influencing our enemies, but somewhat so as to the effect it might have on our Friends, and looks on it as want of attention in the French not to foresee the possibility of that. I had much conversation with him, and I ask'd him for curiosity, how he'd make room for Rigby. He does not know, I believe, but is determin'd it shall be done. Viry was exact in what he told me, that they receiv'd no Letters by the man to the City. Ld Bute, if he concludes the Peace, expects no opposition worth mentioning, and looks upon the Russian Event⁴ as

¹ The Spanish Ambassador in Paris.

² Bedford was to be sent to Paris as special envoy. The appointment was unpopular in the Country, owing to his oft declared desire for peace.

³ Havanna fell to a British expedition under Lord Albemarle on August 12.

⁴ The removal from the Russian throne and subsequent murder of the Czar Peter. He was succeeded by the Empress Catharine, his wife.

important in that respect; and is not ill pleas'd with the Birth of a Prince of Wales, to whom the Adulation of the Court vulgar is not a little ridiculous. I beg you'll make Charles shew you what Mons^r. Rousseau says about the Magistrates of France towards the Dauphin. My best compliments attend Lady Holland. I wish her joy of not being oblig'd to go to Court. Ld Charles Spencer is immediately to be married to Miss Beauclerk. Adieu.

Ever yours,

SHELBURNE.

EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. FOX.

Whitton. August 19, 1762.

DEAR SIR.

It was my Intention to write to you yesterday, but I was prevented, and to day I am Honour'd with yours. I am not surpriz'd about the Date, for twas the case of every Letter I writ that day, and I had the misfortune to recollect it as soon as it was too late to remedy my mistake.

The Messenger arriv'd from France on Monday, with the most Positive assurances of the most entire agreement on the footing of the last paper that went from hence. It was added, that *we* laid them under a necessity to send to Spain, but they undertook to say that could have no ill consequence, except the delay, as the King of France had lately receiv'd a Letter from the K. of Spain, assuring him that whenever France and England were agreed, he would take care no obstacle should come from his part. They declare Mons^r. de Nivernois their ambassador in preference, as I understand, at our desire, to Mons^r. de Richelieu. A House can scarce be found in London to suit him, in Viry's opinion, who is in great distress now on that Subject. They promise moreover to join England in the mediation between Prussia and Austria. This last circumstance is matter of great joy to Viry, but I don't understand why. In these circumstances an account of an action is expected from our Army every moment. If the Peace is so far concluded, how will Mr. G. Grenville and the rest answer for their want of confidence in the Monday's Council past, and thus risquing an action in Germany.¹ Your Friend, my Ld Chancellor,² asks two reversions for signing the Peace; but this you will be so good not to mention.

¹ At the passage of the Lahn, near Amöneburg, on September 21, the British force under Granby were heavily engaged.

² Robert Henley, Lord Northington, was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1761, having been for four years Keeper of the Great Seal.

Dundas, the Nabob of the North, writes to me to desire, I'll get him made a Bart. This made me go to Ld Bute yesterday, and I took the same opportunity of mentioning Ld Dunmore and Bunbury,¹ and to assure him that His taking care of them would be obliging me as strongly as it was possible; and for myself, I undertook to repeat that my being out of Place would not make me less attach'd, for I protest in my own opinion It will make me more. He was infinitely obliging in regard to both, and only desir'd I would give him some time, as till some measure was fix'd He could not guess what vacancys might be; but promis'd me sooner or later to take care of both. If I did not write, I should have done myself the Honour to write to Lady Caroline to tell her this, tho' oblig'd as I am to Mr. Bunbury, I do not [place] my merit towards her so entire as I could wish, and as I shall hope for some other opportunity of shewing whenever she has any thing to command me in. He was also very obliging in assisting me essentially in regard to Calne. I find it necessary to go down there on Saturday for a few days to settle my affairs, which as soon as I am certain of, I will trouble you as usual with an account of myself. I forgot to tell you in my last, that Count la Lippe² writes much pleas'd and satisfied with every thing in Portugal. The Minister, he says, is a firm, greatminded man, without verbiage, never ruffled with a load of Business nor intimidated with the appearance of danger. I am surpriz'd to find that Mello and the Portuguese are doing every thing in their power to prevent a Peace. Adieu, my Dear Sir, and Let me assure you make me happy by saying you are so well and so happy.

S.

Ld Westmorland is just dead; I cannot imagine who the Torys will make Chancellor of Oxford. Ld Bute says it will lye between Ld Litchfield and the Bp of Durham; but they assure me of the contrary, who should know most of it, such as Blackstone.

¹ Sir Charles Bunbury, who had married Lady Sarah Lennox in June.

² Seven thousand British troops had been sent to Lisbon in order to assist the Portuguese against a Spanish invasion. The Count of Lippe-Bückeburg was Commander-in-Chief of the whole force, who quickly cleared the country of its unwelcome visitors.

EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. FOX.

Sept^r 1st, 1762.

DEAR SIR.

I am this moment come from Court, where I saw the D. of Bedford kiss hands. There is to be a Cabinet on Fryday, and on Saturday he departs for Paris. The D. de Nivernois to have Ld Pembroke's House. I sat a great while with Ld B. this morning, whom you'll find in very good spirits, and resolv'd, I think, on his peace. His expression was that he had two things, however, hung on him. One as to Spain, whether the affair of the Logwood¹ would not be consider'd as a Cession, and too much, if the Havannah be our's now; to which I did not hesitate to apply what you said as to St Lucie, which was of infinitely more consequence. The other was more material, but in my opinion not less clear, as to a Cessation of arms in Germany, which the French have not ask'd, but have submitted it to the Generosity and Humanity of the K^s of E., Situated as they are, that he will be so good to intimate that they should ask it, which they should consider as the greatest mark of Friendship. Ld B. is apprehensive, if the preliminaries should unhappily be laid aside, the Prince Ferdinand may cry he lost the moment; but I think I left him decided on it notwithstanding. For if the Preliminaries succeed, it is for the advantage of both to avoid Effusion of Blood; If not, what better opportunity can he have for changing the Plan of the War, a Step so necessary, if it continues, with regard to his Friends, himself, and our Finances. He is in doubt about the best method of bringing it before Parliament, whether to lay the Preliminaries before them, tho' they are not confirm'd by that time by a Peace. He thinks he can manage so as to deferr the meeting of Parliament till Thursday 4th, or Tuesday y^e 9th of Nov^r. Mr. Pitt has paid a strange visit, with a strange petition from Exeter to the King in regard to Newfoundland, to Lord Egremont. It acquaints the King of the taking of it, without any prayer of any sort. And Mr. Pitt *humbly* lays it before the King's Servants, submitting it to their *better knowledge of affairs*, and having no opinion himself on it.

I have not time to tell you of my own Purchases in various parts, which I have made, but That is not curious for the present; and tho you are

¹ The right to cut logwood on the coast of Spanish America was to be permitted, in exchange for the demolition of certain British forts in Honduras.

so good to take a share in what happens to me even in that way, it may be deferr'd till another time. I wrote to you before I went into Wilts, w^{ch} I hope you receiv'd. My Best comp^{ts} attend Lady Holland. I wish you very fine weather, for by your Letter It would seem that That, with Sea air, is capable of producing every effect. Mr. Francis is to be with Lord Bute tomorrow.

Yours ever,

SHELBURNE.

MR. G. SELWYN TO MR. FOX.

[September 15.]

DEAR S^R.

My Journey to Paris with the Dutchess of Bedford seems at present to be as much fixed as the Peace, but no more! I take that to be about three to one in favor of it. My stay therefore is not intended to be of a very long duration; and if the material Business of Parliament is at the opening of it, then I shall be returned the first week in November. I suppose there will be no difficulty in obtaining a Furloe till then, nor should I be desired to return only to vote for an Islington Turnpike.

What I have quoted out of M^e. de Seigné must be explained by herself; it may be, when Lady Holland reads the whole Letter, she will see no difficulty in it.

The means of my being at the Christning,¹ if you ask the cause, was my insatiable curiosity: if the means of my admittance, an air de Protection that very often imposes upon those who ought to demand my Credentials. I have gott an admittance a hundred times in my Life, by ordering a door keeper in a peremptory way to admitt no more at his peril than two Gentlemen, who have happened to stand near me in the Crowd, and who have been astonished at their access and my Impudence. I walked up, and then on to the sanctum Sanctorum without the least Opposition; I know no more of my manner of admittance than that. The duc de Nivernois's dining at Mr. Calcraft is a new anecdote; if you have only heard so, I doubt it. If he stays in this Country till the next Spring, and does not dine at Holland House, he will want justification more than you. I am just come from Sion where we dined, Horry Walpole, Lord Cov., Lord March, &c. Lady

¹ The christening of the Prince of Wales.

Northumberland talked a great deal of the Queen and her way of Life, or rather of not living, but not a word of Lady Bolingbroke.¹ I am much impatient to find out this History. Lord Lincoln's is also unknown to me ; that he has been abused I can suppose, that I shall think it extraordinary is impossible. But I will find out what it is if I can. I have not seen the Dutchess of Grafton, but hear she is very much frenchified, that is, being improved. I cannot refuse my vote to Lord Litchfield, if he asks it, nor should he refuse me a degree if I ask that.² He was to day in close conference with his Grace of Cantorbury, so I see that by this new office il s'encanaillera prodigeusement.

I am, with my best Respects to Lady Holland,
your much obliged and most affectionate
humble servant,

G. S.

EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. FOX.

Whitton. Sept^r 18, 1762.

DEAR SIR.

One of the Reversions I mention'd to you is the place the Duke of Chandos has, but I don't find either of them granted or Intended, which makes it doubly necessary that they should not be mention'd. It is necessary to have more than Judgement or power of prophecy to know whether the Peace will succeed. The French are now as much determin'd as you could ever have been not to sign without the Spaniards. Mons^r. de Nivernois is come over extremely knowing in the state of our Factions, but, Grand Flatteur, at the same time He declares himself apprehensive not only of delay but difficulty on the side of the Spaniards. And our Council, by all accounts, are become more timid than ever. Our Domestick affairs, which are necessarily connected with our Foreign, are, I am afraid, reckon'd on without much certainty. The great body of the Torys are by no means assur'd, some of them are very much the contrary. Those under Government have not been ask'd their opinions, and there is no detail establish'd among Ld Bute's Friends. Don't imagine this is the effect of Gloominess; but I only write to you what I have represented to Ld Bute and continue to represent to him every time I see him, that there is not a moment to be lost, either

¹ A reference to the misunderstanding between Lord and Lady Bolingbroke, which ended in a divorce in 1768.

² Lord Lichfield was a candidate for the Chancellorship of Oxford University.

in signing the Peace or in assuring himself of a competent majority in the House of commons to support Him and It, as one cause. I am anxious to do him every Service in my power, but 'tis ridiculous to think that can be considerable, Single as I naturally am, and apprehensive of being thought to run into that officious stile of business, which I cannot help despising when I see it with others. And when I compare it to that which Lady Holland admires so much, and which she has brought you at last to preferr, I cannot help wishing to avoid the remotest hazard of It.

I am sorry I have so much reason to be confirm'd in my opinion as to the Havannahs, by the French taking the first of our Embarkations from N. America, and by very desponding Letters, which must have been written before they knew of any accident attending the Reinforcement. In Germany there is more likelihood of an action than ever, notwithstanding the last affair of the H. Prince; and among other extraordinary inconsistent things, Mr. Butcher persists in defending what he said in the City, and says it was by the Duke of Bedford's orders.

Rigby is to succeed Ellis, whom Ld Bute proposes to send with a Red Ribbon to Vienna.¹ Ellis is in the country and as yet knows nothing of this arrangement. I ask your pardon that I have not sent you Mr. Hogarth's Print. If you have not got it, I will not fail sending it to you as soon as I go to London. I beg my best compliments to Lady Holland. Ever yours,

SHELburne.

P.S. Ld Talbot has at the entreaty of his Friends mix'd water with his wine in regard to Peace, and I hope in the end will be a zealous supporter of It.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Woburn. 22^d Sep^r, 1762.

DEAR MR. FOX.

You ask me a good many questions in your letter pretty difficult for me to answer. There is one only to which I can give a positive one. The D. of Cumberland goes to Newmarket next Sunday sen'night; if I go at all, which

¹ Ellis was Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and became Secretary-at-War in December.

is doubtfull, it will most likely be on the same day. When I come from thence, I may possibly know more of H.Rss's humour and language that I do at present, tho' our political conversations will not be so confidential as they have been.

I know but one symptome how his Grace goes on with Mons^r. Choiseul;¹ it is a good one, for He has sent for the Dss, who goes to Paris the beginning of next week.

I wish I could tell you if there will be firmness and decision where they are so necessary. I saw the Great Man last week; he was or affected to appear firm and easy. If I do not doubt what He will be, I do very much what his Council will be, when they meet upon the Duke of Bedford's ultimatum.² He talk'd to me about myself, and hoped I was not uneasy at a little delay, as it would be very convenient for his arrangements. I stop'd Him short upon this head, by telling Him I was perfectly satisfied under the assurances I had received. A few weeks more or less I am indifferent about, as to my entrance into employment; my anxiety, not such as will break my heart tho', is for continuing in one.

I concluded I should see you with Keningall at Holland House the latter end of this week. He will be there for certain. How long do you propose staying in Kent?

Adieu, y^{rs} ever,

R. R.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO MR. FOX.

Bath. Oct^r 14, 1762.

DEAR MR. FOX,

I receiv'd your Letter this morning, which gave me equal surprise and concern.³ I have made it a rule to myself when anybody asks my opinion, be they who they will, to give it frankly and honestly. The long friendship I have had for you, as well as the strongest Love and regard, wou'd make it base in me to dissemble upon this occasion. I lament the Crisis that has occasion'd your being call'd upon, and which makes you think it incumbent

¹ The French Minister.

² Bute, backed by Bedford, was prepared even to surrender Havanna in exchange for the right of cutting logwood, lest negotiations should be broken off.

³ Announcing that he had accepted a seat in the Cabinet and the lead in the House of Commons, though he had refused to become Secretary of State.

on you to undertake the task; and hope in what I am going to say I may prove a false Prophet. Dont take it ill, when I tell you that in my poor opinion you are doing what is ill judg'd and dangerous for yourself, will do Lord Bute no good, and be of no service to the King's affairs. The Nation is mad and ready to break out in a flame; your junction at this time with Lord Bute will rather tend to inflame than quench the fire. My heart bleeds for the King. I know the Duty I owe as a faithfull servant and subject, and have besides a love and affection to his person. I dread the event you so pathetically describe. Lord Bute, who has such obligations to the King and is the only man that can avert the blow, ought to take warning in time, or it will not be in the power of those who detest such measures to prevent them. I beg this may be to yourself. I have scarce spirits to write; the waters have been of no service to me, and I am in a course of medecine that confines me to the House, which I am persuaded will do me good. I am rather low, and your Letter has affected me. I fear you will be the dupe in this Business; they never offer'd you any thing till they had nobody else to go to. Why are you then to take Lord Bute's unpopularity on your shoulders? You may fancy what you please about the power of the Crown, but believe me you will find yourself mistaken. If a King of England employs those People for his Ministers that the Nation have a good opinion of, he will make a great figure, but if he chuses them merely thro' personal favour, it will never do, and he will be unhappy. In this instance Ld Bute has his Birth; per Contra, no man has wish'd more to see you a Minister than myself, but not in such company, and this step of yours has, I own, cut up by the roots every chance that I coud form to myself of making some settlement and preventing confusion. When I sat down to write I did not intend to say what I have. Dont be angry, for believe me it comes from a heart that loves you and feels for you. I am with great truth, and will ever shew myself, Dear Mr. Fox's sincere Friend,

DEVONSHIRE.

I hope to pass thro' London in a week or ten days, and shall be glad to see you. Commend me to your son, Charles, for his sagacity. By part of the conversation in your Letter it seems as if the Peace woud take place; if you dont get some compensation for y^e Havannah you will be tore to pieces.

MR. G. SELWYN TO MR. FOX.

Paris. Oct 20.

DEAR S^R.

I think I should not do right, if I did not take advantage of the Courier, which the Duke of Bedford sends to England, to make you my Compliments, such as they are, upon your present situation; but what to say of it more than you have so well said yourself, I do not know. I can say a great deal to the honour of those who offered you this violence, Because they certainly give a great proof of their own good Sense, when they are so ingenious as to own they stand in need of yours. I beg therefore to be understood not to congratulate you, but them. I can only wish that the Fatigue of what you have undertaken may not destroy the good effects of your Summer Retreat.¹ If it does, you will have given better advice to his Majesty than to yourself. Your expedition to this Country, I putt a great distance, indeed sine die. My return is more fixed. I shall leave Paris the fourth of next month to go to England, unless, by a Letter from you, I am informed that there is a prorogation of Parliament; if not, I would not have my Presence dispensed with, if I might, because I would not lose any opportunity of giving my small testimony of the Respect and attachment, with w^{ch}, I am, from so many obligations as well as inclination, most sincerely and aff^{ly}

Yours,

G. SELWYN.

My Respects to Lady Holland if you please. I hope that she will prevent Lady Hervey from destroying the good impression which her Friend M^e. Jauffrin, has, I hope, from the D^{ss} of Bedford's recommendation, received of me. As Count Bosset says, if my Fortune is destroyed in one House, I hope she will not spoil it in another. Besides it is my first acquaintance with a french witt.

It would be une cruauté impardonable to deprive me of such an Entertainment, as long as I can possibly keep awake at it.

¹ Kingsgate, a villa on the coast of the Isle of Thanet, at which Fox passed many of the declining years of his life.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO MR. FOX.

Chatsworth. Nov^r 5th, 1762.DEAR S^r.

I am very much oblig'd to you for your information about the Parliament. I am very glad it is put off, as it gives me more time in the Country, which I shall be sorry to quit, as the Scene must be chang'd for a very disagreeable one. You will excuse me if I cannot wish that what happen'd to me had fallen to your Lot.¹ That you shou'd not be in the situation you are I most sincerely wish; but I feel great satisfaction in being reliev'd from a situation that was growing every day more and more unpleasant, and therefore if it can be call'd an obligation, I am rather oblig'd to those who gave me so fair an opportunity of making my retreat. The mode in which it was done, I own, hurt me, and I am at a loss to guess how the King cou'd be prevail'd upon, unprovok'd, to show so much resentment to one that is not conscious he deserv'd it; for my Lips never utter'd a word that was not full of Duty and Affection to him. I am oblig'd to you for what you say about my Friend;² it has not been customary to remove those sort of People, tho' I don't know that will be any security in this instance.

I am,

Dear S^r,Y^r most faithfullhumble serv^t,

DEVONSHIRE.

Since I wrote this Letter, I hear I am struck out of y^e Privy Council. After what has pass'd, this, if true, cannot hurt me. But let me ask you one Question. Are these things done without your approbation and participation? I hope so, and if they are, how are you in the situation that you represent yourself to be in and that was promis'd you. I don't desire an answer.

¹ Devonshire had been removed from his office of Lord Chamberlain, by the command of the King, who subsequently, with his own hand, struck off his name from the list of Privy Councillors.

² Sir Robert Wilmot.

MR. RIGBY TO MR. FOX.

Paris. 5th November, 1762.

DEAR MR. FOX.

Porto Rico was impossible to be had, take my word for it. The City might as well have expected an exclusive fishery, and I have therefore not mentioned that part of your letter to the Duke of Bedford. The Preliminaries were actually signed before I recd it, and it would have been to no purpose to make Him uneasy about it. His Grace came from Fontainbleau last night, and sends a messenger to England to day, with a copy of the French Ministers' letter to their Generals in Germany. You will be as desirous as they, I hope, to prevent more People being knocked on the head. There are many Mécontents in this Town, who abuse y^e Peace for being too hard upon France. Will the Duke of Devonshire change his opinion of the Peace, now He is a Country Gentleman?

I have a great desire to stay here till the ratifications are returned, which we flatter ourselves they may be by this day sen'night, if you have a Council upon them, as we expect, next Monday. For God's sake, when they come back, don't let them be accompanied with any severe observations upon our exceeding our Instructions. If the Preliminaries were defensible as They were sent over, I am sure the variations make them very little otherwise.

Selwyn and I will certainly be with you in time, but as we have no thoughts of being in opposition, we hope you will take good care that we are not in a minority.

Adieu, Dear Sir,

Ever y^{rs},RICH^d RIGBY.

Are the ratifications of the Preliminary Articles to pass the Great Seal before they are returned? If so, I am sure they cannot be come back hither by the time I have said y^t I expect them; but a Messenger may, to tell us that the King and his Council have agreed to them and will ratify: and I beg it, as a great favour to myself as well as to the Duke of Bedford, that you will procure one to be sent away directly with such Intelligence.

EARL OF BUTE TO MR. FOX.

I hope to be able on Monday to give you an account of the D. of Portland, tho' I by no means like my first account.¹ If He should be where I suspect, Ld Bath will prove the most active person. I found on mentioning Sussex to the King that Ld Egremont was most in his thoughts. I wish you joy of Mr. Gascoign, and will take care of the little office you mention. When first the King restor'd S. Henry Erskine to His Rank, he promis'd Him His Uncle's Regiment, and order'd me formerly to say so to Lds Loudon and Panmure, and now to Ld Lorn. In this case His old Regiment is vacant and the Government. I am most sensible to your kind expressions, and make no doubt but you have met with many who in general expressions condemn this dangerous work; but still, the very Conduct of those who ought to make this a Common cause, a publick concern, makes good my assertion to my own mind. However, my dear Sir, don't be allarm'd with my expressions; I should not be where I am, if fear prevail'd much with me. Indeed, these infamous methods taken neither intimidate nor turn me one instant from my purpose; they teaze me, they hurt my delicacy, they render me impatient; but I scorn, let what will happen to me, the smallest precaution concerning my own safety. I do own, however, that the King insulted at the door of His Parl^t in getting out of His Coach, in the midst of his guards, and the Rascal seiz'd and rescu'd in his sight, is to me a serious business,² and in my opinion calls for sharp and speedy remedys. The Chancellor seems of another opinion; and I pretend to know, not what is low, but what should be so. There are minutes when great prudence and caution animate rebellion and encourage faction and riot to a dangerous degree. I am, Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

BUTE.

Nov. 27. 1762.

¹ The Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton, and Lord Rockingham, were dismissed from their respective Lord-Lieutenancies. The Duke of Devonshire was to be spared this humiliation at Fox's request, but resigned in order to accompany his friends.

² The disturbance was aimed at Bute himself, who was with difficulty rescued by the guards from the mob.

MR. GEORGE MACARTNEY¹ TO MR. FOX.

Geneva. December 8th, 1762.

DEAR SIR.

A few days since, I was honor'd with yours of the 5th of last Month, and this Moment Ste has received Lady Holland's two letters. Since you wrote affairs are a good deal changed, and there seems to be already a violent opposition, and indeed the most extraordinary one perhaps that ever was formed. Good God! who could have expected that spirits so totally contradictory should unite together. The conduct of one great personage surprizes me beyond measure; that he should join himself with those whom he heartily despises against those whom he cannot but esteem. But it cannot last long. Such coalitions dissolve themselves, and then I hope all will be smooth and easy as you wish it.

Mr. Trembley² has been in town these three weeks past, and we have the pleasure of seeing him almost every day. He is a very worthy man, and shews a most particular regard for Ste, who in return esteems him highly.

Lord Stanhope³ and family came here about ten days since in order to consult Mr. Tronchin, with regard to their eldest son, who is in a deep consumption. They are to spend the winter here. Lord S. is a queer little man, who seems to know very little of the World. He has read a great deal, but rather with appetite than taste, and the studies he loves best are not of the most important kind. He is a fellow of the Royal Society, which people abroad look on as a vast recommendation. He is a furious *patriot*, being Mr. Pitt's cousin and his most extravagant Admirer. His Lady is a sister of Lord Haddington; she is a woman of a very good understanding, and is extremely polite and amiable.

This Doctor Tronchin draws all the world here, and Geneva is so full of his patients that it is almost impossible to find apartments for them all. Sir Charles Hotham is obliged to live at the Inn, which is particularly distressing, as his sister is with him, and he himself in a very ill state of health. He, you know, is Nephew to Lord Chesterfield, and was groom of the bedchamber to the King when prince of Wales. His illness obliged him to resign, which I am

¹ Afterwards Earl Macartney (1737-1806), diplomat. He was travelling abroad at this time with Fox's eldest son, Stephen, and returned home in 1764.

² Stephen Fox's tutor.

³ Philip, second Earl Stanhope (1714-1786). His son died during the following year.

told he did in a very handsome Manner. He talks of going soon to Thoulouse, as he already finds the air of this place too sharp for him.

I think I told you that the Duke of Gordon was gone into Italy. There remain still indeed too many English, but we are as little as possible with them. We sup every night almost abroad, and in the best houses of the town. The Duke of Villars, whose ill state of health obliges him to pass the winter here that he may be near Tronchin, has distinguished us by every possible civility. Had we gone to Aix again, his house, one of the most agreeable circumstances of the place, would have been wanting; but I hope you think all is for the best.

An interruption indeed has been put to our Amusement these two or three days past, as poor Ste has been laid up with a severe cold. As they are generally very violent upon him, and he rather too negligent, I spoke to Mr. Trembley, who has persuaded him to keep his chamber till he is perfectly recovered. But the good state of health he has enjoyed for some time past gives me Room to flatter myself that his constitution is greatly improved, and that this Cold will be less troublesome than his usually are.

The Duke of Portland's conduct does not surprize me at all. It is exactly what he told me it would be for some time; he is a great observer, and is, I think, somewhat proud, which I take to be the only speck in his character. He never will accept a little employment and if he accept any at all, he must be courted to it. For I think he will hardly ask. Does the Duke of Grafton join the Malcontents? He told me he should not dislike an employment, but then it must be one of business.

You were not in the house the first of the Session, owing to y^r Irish employment, which obliges you to be rechosen.¹ I should have thought that necessary only when you obtained the reversion, not when the place fell into you.

Your present situation is so very busy that we cant flatter ourselves with hopes of hearing from you, but Lady Caroline is very good and writes all the news. Once more, Dear Sir, I beg you'll excuse the great Liberty I took in my last letter, and not on that account think the less of him, who is with the highest respect and esteem, D^r Sir, ever yours,

G. MACARTNEY.

P.S. You will be so good as to desire Mr. Hoare to honor my draft of £200.

¹ Fox had recently obtained the Clerkship of the Pells.

EARL OF BUTE TO MR. FOX.

MY DEAR SIR.

I am much pleas'd with your news, and yet more with the strong marks of a warm and affectionate heart, that runs thro' the note, and does ample Justice to your feelings. I take something tomorrow that will confine me, but hope the effect may be over before Ld Kildare calls. The more I reflect on Ld Egremont's dinner, the more I think myself oblig'd to you for the kind part you took in my absence.¹ At the same time, I own, I am weak enough to be surpriz'd at so many other Gentlemen forgetting entirely the Person by whose means they were there assembl'd. No minister in his senses could advise the King to disoblige in the most sensible manner a Gentleman like Sir James, whose Parliamentary interest is so very considerable. If he does not resent it, 'tis solely on my account, and that should not be a reason for Ld Egremont's conduct. I see however what is meant. If The King sets this to rights, the despotick power of the favorite triumphs over the custos and President in a Legal act; and furnishes a colour for execution of intentions, perhaps already form'd, or that an event at hand would probably soon ripen.

I thought to have releas'd you, but I just recollect a business imparted to me under the seal of the greatest secrecy. I was press'd by a Person, who has a great regard for the Duke of Bedford, to guard His mind against the Insinuations that Durand, just going over, will certainly attempt from former habitudes here. This Person remains at this hour in strict connexions with the late Treasurer, and will paint at Paris every thing as favorably as possible for His interest. The Duke of Bedford is too able, I am certain, to take ideas of this country from a Frenchman, at any rate. I cannot flatter myself with believing that my writing would have any great effect; for I frankly own to you, Mr. Fox, I am not edified with the accounts I have receiv'd from Paris of the manner I am spoke of by those from whom I have deserv'd better, and that in the presence of French Ministers, who do me the honor to think better of me than some of my Countrypeople who have more reason. But enough of this. You shall have no more of it from me, who am not over fond

¹ Some friction had arisen about this time between Bute on the one hand and Egremont and George Grenville on the other.

myself of remembering many things I meet with. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest regard,

Your most obed^{nt}

Humble Servant,

BUTE.

Wednesday night.

(Docket.) *Early in 1763.*

EARL OF BUTE TO MR. FOX.

Treasury. Friday, past 4.

DEAR SIR.

I own I am sorry Ld Hallifax and you thought a council necessary. I said all I could to His Lordship against it, but told Him that if others were of the same opinion I should acquiesce. I know the bad consequences it will produce in the City, and the D. of Bedford's note is an additional reason. However the measure is taken, and we are to hear Ld Mansfield's capital objections, that I hear amount to above 20. We are also, I hear, to be conjur'd to make no reduction, but to look on the war as likely to continue. What would the Duke of Bedford say, if he heard all this? Sir Charles Frederick was with me, but did not seem so fond of the idea as I could have wish'd. He has taken till Monday to give his answer. Moreover, I believe, I have a lure to tempt Him if necessary. I have seen Sir Neill Maynard this morning, and I find he, Maynard, will submit himself to the King's pleasure.

I suppose you have heard of Mr. de Nivernois' offer:—to give up Wezel, &c., to the King of Prussia, on his consenting to a neutrality for the Low Countrys. This, with another most material piece of intelligence that I cannot trust to paper, makes me view the little difficultys rais'd here about the peace in the light they deserve. I shall have the pleasure of seeing you on Monday, by which time, it is to be hop'd, this extreme cold will have given you a surfeit of the country.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours &c.,

BUTE.

(Docket.) *Feb. 1763.*

EARL OF BUTE TO MR. FOX.

[March 2, 1763.]

MY DEAR SIR.

Sir Sam. Fluddier stood with me on the same footing that every other Person does, whose Subscription I promis'd to receive; the few excepted, who were immediately to take upon themselves the chance of carrying my plan into execution, and of them none have half what they desir'd, and some not the 10th part. Nor is this any novelty, for I learn from my Treasury that Subscribers have ever had their Subscription lessen'd in a fair proportion. I have no private list (as they call it); every man is welcome to see it, and to see that Justice, not favor, has made the arrangement. I am glad to hear your Friend is pleas'd with me. I had, by His Majesty's goodness, the double satisfaction of serving Lord Ducie and Mr. Fox. Besides, the gratitude you mention is most welcome to a man who seldom goes to bed without striking instances of the contrary having pass'd in the preceding day. Glover is not the only man I have great reason to complain of this 2^d of March; C. Townshend has given me a most unusual proof of the ungenerous turn of the present age. Indeed, my dear Sir, the end of my labors was solemnly determin'd, even before I undertook them. Had it been otherwise, had I been form'd to taste ambition, Power, and pre-eminence, I have had so many wholesome antidotes to such pursuits, that no wealth, no honor the King could bestow (tho able to do it with as profuse a hand as any of our former Kings), should tempt me to risque my honor, to destroy my health, my peace, and every pleasing sensation of my mind, as I now do each day I live. I know the world will attribute this to affluent circumstances; but the few that know me would expect from me the same determination, tho I exchang'd my present envy'd station for a cottage, when you, Sir, with a spirit and generosity that I can never forget, gave us your help, to save this poor country in its extremest peril. Honor, gratitude, Duty, and affection made my stay necessary; but now thanks to kind providence, the vessel's safe in harbour. Firmness and resolution are no more necessary, but a thousand little arts, sinister arts, and unworthy trafficking, become the proper talents for the fresh water Pilot. These my nature abhors; besides I am certain, retire when I will, I shall have the comfort of removing no inconsiderable store of unpopularity, that His Majesty's partiality to me has brought upon His Government. But I am insensably led into a much longer digression than I intended, and must beg

your excuse for it. As to Legonier, he call'd on me yesterday, complaining of His ill treatment. I assur'd Him (as was most true) I medl'd not with the military line; that favors I had to ask; I met too often with refusals. It was then suppos'd that this or that person gave the King advice, to which I reply'd absolutely in the Negative, that I was certain His Majesty look'd on the army to be His own department; that I would hint to the King the conversation that had pass'd. I did so last night, and found Him so exactly agree to your sentiments that you will not find it necessary to say more on the subject. I have this minute receiv'd, wrote by Ld Bath's desire, acquainting me with the melancholy news of His Son's death.¹ My heart bleeds for the Father and the old man. What a dreadful blow, at His age, In His situation. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest regard,

Yours &c.,
BUTE.

Wednesday night.

MR. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.²

MY DEAR LORD.

I received last night the Letter which I enclose for Lady Holland and your Consideration. Mr. Digby tells me you will be at the Pay Office this Evening. I shall come down there in hopes of seeing you, if I shall not be troublesome, and of taking your last commands before we meet in France. If you go on Monday next I am afraid I shall not, without some inconvenience, be able to attend you to Calais, which I should like to do, and which I could easier do the End than the Beginning of the week.

I must repeat what I said to you some time ago in relation to your journey to Spa, which is, that although it may be presuming too much to suppose that having with you Lady Holland and your Sons, I could add anything by my Company, yet if it was possible for me to be of any use by waiting upon you and them, I should hope and suppose you would tell me so, knowing and believing that I am and ever shall be very respectfully, very affectionately, and very sincerely yours,

G. SELWYN.

Tuesday morning.

(Docket.) *April 26, 1763.*

¹ Lord Pulteney died in Madrid of a putrid fever, when returning from the campaign in Portugal.

² Fox had been created Baron Holland, of Foxley, on April 17.

MR. R. BATEMAN¹ TO LORD HOLLAND.

[May 3, 1763.]

MY DEAR L^D.

Ld B., who is engaged at Cards has employd me in what I was very willing to accept, as it is to write to you, but the pleasure I proposd is considerably abated by the worst pen and ink I ever employd. However I am to give you the Sequel of Mr Wilks, and as well as I can from hearsay (indeed the crowd at Westminster Hall was too great for me to be there) inform you of what happend there to day.² He came from the tower in a Hackney coach, yet much too well powderd and pinkd for such a vehicle. His Head dress was very particular, en Adonis, neither bag or [illegible] but ringlets in abundance, very pert and in great spirits. There was 4 Serjeant council against him, and one for him. He read a speech, in which he said his House had been forced open and illegally enterd by Thieves, who had taken from him all his papers; otherwise he could have given the strongest proofs of his innocence, of his morals and virtue; and shewd what strong temptations he had withstood, and what offers he had had to corrupt him. He talkd of his great love and veneration for the King, but said tho guilty of no crime he had been worse treated then the lowest Scotsman would have been that had been guilty of the greatest. Upon which some one man in the Court flung up his Hat and Huzza'd, which occasiond a General one in the Hall: Insomuch that Ld Mansfield sent from the King's bench to inquire the cause of it.

Ld C.J. Pratt then said he would certainly commit the first person he saw that made the least noise or not. The bail was not proposd, but if it had it would have been refused by Wilks. Ld C.J. told him that as this affair concernd the liberty of all the king's subjects, as well as his, he hoped he wd not be uneasy at being confin'd a day or two longer: and therefore he deferd determining anything upon it till fryday. He was told that if he would ask it as a favor, he might have who he pleasd visit him in the tower. He ask'd

¹ Hon. Richard Bateman (d. 1773), son of Sir James Bateman, and brother of first Viscount Bateman.

² One of the first acts of the Grenville Administration, which came into being upon Bute's resignation in April, was the issue of a general warrant against the authors and printers of the *North Briton*, for an attack upon the King's speech in proroguing Parliament. Wilkes was arrested under this on April 30, and was sent to the Tower. Temple applied for a writ of habeas corpus, and the case was taken by Pratt on May 3.

who he must apply to for that favor; they said the Secretary of State. He reply'd, he should ask no favor of him. He would have none from Him, nothing but the justice that was due to every free born Englishman. Nevertheless there was orders given to admit who ever came to him.

I am, ever y^{rs},

R. BATEMAN.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Paris. Monday night. 1 Aug.

MY DEAR LORD.

I received yours of the 27 of last month to night. Your Table is now in Mr. Guerchy's¹ Warehouse, with more things than I believe his ships can carry. The Table will arrive in London as you intended, and shall be for whom you intend it, and safely delivered upon its arrival; but I do most earnestly intreat you to gett me, if you can, a Conveyance of the same sort of Table which I shall bespeak directly. But I am afraid that this is his last envoy; I had been everywhere to look for one ready made, before I laid my hands on this, which I did not know the history of, and as I told you in my last, I think you offered to resign the other.

I beg you will tell Charles² that I had a note or letter this morning from M^c. Joffrin,³ in which she says, "Je m'étois flattée que vous prendriez possession de mes diners de tous les mercredis, et de mes soirées tant que cela vous conviendrait. Les sentiments d'admiration et de reconnaissance ne pèsent ni à mon esprit ni à mon cœur, quand les personnes qui les exigent les méritent." I hope he wont envy me the admiration of an Old Woman, whatever he does of a young one.

I can say nothing about my going to England. If I do, I must speak like the Soothsayer in *Julius Caesar*. Wherever I am, I shall be with the greatest respect and affection, yours,

G. S.

I hope that Lady Holland does really like the Lamp; and that Lady Hervey will like it, because Lady Holland wishes she may.

Wont this second expedition into France make some favorable impression of me upon that affected piece of old Frippery?

¹ The French Ambassador in London.

² Charles James Fox.

³ Madame Geoffrin, whose salon in Paris became celebrated; widow of a rich manufacturer. She died in 1777, at the age of seventy-eight.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO LORD HOLLAND.

Admiralty. Sept. 6, 1763.

MY DEAR LORD.

You will certainly have had many accounts from hence of our political contests, but possibly may not know one consequence of them, which I am persuaded will give you pleasure, namely, that on the forming the Administration since Mr. Pitt's extravagant demands have been rejected, the King has been pleased to fix on me for one of his Secretaries of State.¹ And if I may venture to speak to you as to a friend, I will add that I think I stand upon very good ground, and have some share of his Majesty's favour. Perhaps you may not have heard that in Mr. Pitt's invective to the King against all those who were not of his party, the two that were the foremost on his list were Ld Holland and Ld Mansfield; and, as I am informed from the very best authority, there was no degree of violence that he did not exert against them.

The cause begins to be very serious between the contending parties, and as I am personally, and in every sense deeply interested in this contest, you cannot be surprized that I mention my earnest wish that you would be among us at the opening of the Parliament. Your assistance will be of the utmost consequence to the cause in general, and your advice of the utmost importance to me; therefore don't take it ill that I am so pressing to have you here.

The day after Mr. Pitt's proposals were rejected, he appeared with Ld Temple at the King's Levée, and from thence they both went to visit Mr. Calcraft, who certainly wished them well, and was concerned in the negociation in their favour; as I believe Ld Shelburne was, who has since resigned his employment, tho' with the strongest declarations to the King of his intention to support his measures.

The Duke of Bedford and all his friends were among the proscribed, and

¹ Upon Lord Egremont's death, one of the Secretaries of State, the King made overtures to Pitt, who refused to come in with Bedford, the author of the Peace. The latter himself advised the King to close with Pitt, but George decided that his terms were too hard, and continued with Bedford as President of the Council and nominal head of the Administration, though in reality George Grenville held the strings. Sandwich became Secretary of State, while Shelburne and Calcraft definitely left the fold and attached themselves to Pitt.

they resent it as they ought, and take an active part in support of the present Administration.

I shall be glad to hear your opinion upon all these matters, which you know has allways the utmost weight with me, and I hope you will believe me, when I assure you that I am ever

Most faithfully yours,

SANDWICH.

HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX ¹ TO LORD HOLLAND.

Holland House. Sept^r 9th. [1763.]

You find I left you long before it was necessary, as I arrived in town the first, and the School meets the 12th, c'est à dire next Monday. on Friday last, le lendemain de mon arrivé, not finding Mr. Fannen in town, and hearing he was at Sunning hill with the Bishop of Dromore,² I went thither immediately, in order to deliver your packet and to see the Bishop. I met Mr. Fannen half way, c'est à dire at Hownslow, and gave him the Letters you charged me to give him. But I need not tell you all this, as he is probably with you by this time. When Mr. Young left Sunning hill, which was monday last, I went to Thames Ditton to see Mrs. Digby.³ Charles Digby was the only one of her sons there. Ld Digby, I hear, was married on monday last, and will be at Thames Ditton next week with my Lady. I heard from Mrs. Digby a thing of Mr. Rigby which really astonishes me.⁴ In the house [of] commons, towards the end of the sessions (before any coolness between you and him appeared), he told Mr. Onslow that that man, meaning you, was torn to pieces between his Ambition and his Avarice. Mr. Onslow imagined he was not in earnest, but he answered again, "I mean what I say, Mr. Fox is torn &c." This Mrs. Digby or Mr. Will^m, I forget which, had from Mr. Onslow himself. Ld Shelburne has resigned his employment, Ld Sandwich is made Secretary of State; the proposals Mr. Pitt made being so

¹ At this time fourteen years old, a boy at Eton, whence he had been taken by his doting parent to lead a life of idleness on the Continent for four months. It was owing to his own request that he was allowed to recommence his interrupted studies.

² Dr. Young, Bishop of Dromore, had married Lord Holland's illegitimate daughter.

³ His aunt.

⁴ Rigby had deserted Lord Holland, with an utter lack of gratitude or recollection of intimate friendship.

exorbitant, that it was impossible to agree with them. He insisted on making a new board of Treasury, Admiralty, and Trade, a new Paymaster and Secretary of War, and turning out everybody that had any hand in making the peace. Ld Bute is much abused (and I think with reason) for bringing Mr. Pitt to the King without informing Grenv., Ld Hol., or Ld Sand., or any of them, of his intentions. By this conduct he has incensed all parties; that the actual as well as the intended Ministry both declared they neither would nor could act while Ld Bute saw the King in private. With regard to Calcraft, he says he never had but one obligation from you, viz., being made a Clerk in the War office, for with regard to the Invalids he gave a compensation for it, viz., something out of it for Charles Cooper and Mrs. Young.¹ The agencies, he says, were not given him by you. I was in London this morning, where I heard that the following arrangement is settled. Ld Sand^{ch}, Secretary of state; Lord Egmount, first Ld of the admiralty; Ld Hillsborough, first Ld of Trade; Ld Hyde, Postmaster. The reason Ld Shelburne has resigned is that they have not mentioned or consulted him with regard to these arrangements. Mr. Francis did receive the money from Mr. Powell. I have seen neither him, Calcraft, Rigby, or Ld Shellburne. But Ld Digby says he meets Calcraft very often at Betty's, and they do not pull off their hats to one another. My mother will be very angry at me for writing so much Politics, so that I shall only add the thing which will divert you, viz., that *Mr. Pitt* insists (as one of his conditions) that the Duke be made Captⁿ General. Tell Ste and my mother that I am very well, que quoique mon habillement est un peu à l'anglaise, Je suis toujours Français dans le cœur; et en vérité ce n'est pas merveilleuse que je les donne la preference avant un peuple ingrat, comme nous autres. I forgot to tell you that you did not see the most abusive part of Mr. Churchill's epistle, where he says:—

be an atheist, be a rogue,
and in one gen'ral comprehensive line,
to group more than whole volumes can define,
all that of sin and dullness can be said,
join to a Foxes' heart a Dashwood's head.

If you were as ambitious as Mr. Rigby says you are, you could not wish to be more celebrated. I am, dear Sir,

Your most dutiful and affect^{te} Son,

C. J. Fox.

¹ Lord Holland's illegitimate children.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. Sept. 26, 1763.

MY DEAR LORD.

Your observation as to the dependancy of the King, in case Mr. Pitt had been moderate, is certainly true, but he thought he had everything in his hands and that the remains of the Triumvirate made no resistance; in consequence of which he asked higher terms than I suppose he had mentioned to Ld Bute in his interview with him, before he saw the King on the Saturday. On the Sunday he dined with the D. of Newcastle at Claremont, and returned still in the same strain on the Monday, and told the King, among other things, that however high he might seem in his demands, the D. of Newcastle and others of his friends would complain of his having asked too little. On the Sunday, Ld Bute, who in every transaction has been guided solely by his fears, was intimidated from proceeding upon so hotheaded a plan, and by which so many people of great consequence and so many bodies of men were set at defiance (for not only the D. of Bedford and all those who had been in any way concerned in the Peace, but the Tories and all but men of *Revolution principles* were proscribed), that he thought he was not safe upon such a foundation; the consequence of which was that we knew on Sunday night that Mr. Pitt's terms would be refused, when he returned (as he and his friends thought) to reap the fruits of his victory on the Monday. The event turned out as we expected, and the King, by giving us a most particular account of all Mr. Pitt's extravagant language, furnished us with such materials, that we have, I think, collected the whole strength against him that you would think could be brought together. I was despatched to Woburn by the King's order, and with instructions from his own mouth to the Duke of Bedford, which had the desired effect, and not only his Grace but every body about him, men and women, and the Duchess if possible more than anybody, are as violent and explicit as I could wish them to be. The only defalcation from thence (if it is one) is Calcraft, who declares that he will stick to Lord Shelburne at all events, for which Rigby and Gower and all the rest of his friends give him up, as indeed I think they ought, for he and his friends have been concerned in all this negociation, without giving us the least intimation that anything was going on. However I have the satisfaction to believe they were the dupes to their own contrivances, for

Pitt most certainly abused Shelburne to the King in a most outrageous manner; but I believe that was only to prove him unfitt to be at the head of the board of Trade, for I since understand he was to have had some court office (not of business), with which I suppose he would have been satisfied for the present. And that is his point still, but he has undone himself so much with the Ministry, and is sunk so low in the King's opinion, that I think unless things alter extremely he has not the least chance of carrying his point. He says he means to support government out of employment, but he shews every symptom of opposition, and is underhand working with Calcraft to secure what followers he can, tho' I believe I shall break in pretty considerably upon their quarter.

The parties concerned have the same aversion to negociation that you think they ought to have, and Ld Mansfield acts so shuffling a part, that he has no credit with any party, and is not likely to draw them into any measure whatever. He professes friendship to the Ministry, and tells us he can do more service by not appearing publicly for us, and has desired not to be summoned at the Cabinet Council, that he may not be known to concern himself in the King's affairs.

The Speech and Address will be what you wish in every point, and the conduct intended to be observed with regard to Wilkes is so exactly what you suggest as the most proper, that it almost looks as if you had sent us your plan. As to the meeting of the Parliament, we there differ from you for several reasons; first, as our strength will be all collected, we think delay may occasion untoward and unexpected accidents, that may operate against us and cannot do us any good; secondly, as money probably will be wanted; thirdly, as we think it will shew that we are not afraid to face our enemies; and lastly, as we think the attack upon Wilkes, which is our strong and popular point, will be greatly weakened, if there should be a verdict of a London Jury in his favour before his case is discussed in Parliament, which the early meeting of the Sessions will prevent. There is still another reason for the early meeting of Parliament which I had like to have forgott, and which is at least of as much consequence as any of the others, and that is that the proceeding to action will cut off all idea of negociation. I do assure you there is not the least disposition to it among my friends, and you will not therefore disapprove of their using all possible means to prevent anything tending to it from being proposed from the enemies' quarter.

What you say about any attack on account of the vast expences of the

war requires no particular answer, as it cannot affect us in any shape, and as the Commissioners must consist of such divided interests that it will be impossible for to erect itself into a formidable power, or to prejudice us in any respect. But there is another set of Commissioners, whose enquiries may I think turn out to our advantage, as there are three persons just now appointed to liquidate and state the several claims of indemnifications, arrears, &c., of foreign states, by which the whole of the exorbitant demands that are made in consequence of the German war will appear to the publick, which will surely arraign the measures of those who drew the nation into these expences and still wish to continue the same Continental Connections. When these accounts are liquidated, they are to be laid before Parliament, that the sense of the nation may be taken upon them, and I should think that discussion cannot but give advantage to those who are adverse to the German system.

With regard to the Colony's, we are, I think, fully prepared to stand examination as to what has been done upon that important and extensive branch of business. A Proclamation will be immediately issued to establish the method of distribution of Lands in North America, and to declare the extent of the several Governments and the powers with which they are at present vested, and before the meeting of the Parliament everything else will be done that the time will admitt of, to enable us to shew that this great affair has not been neglected. Besides when it comes to be enquired what has been the occasion of delay, if there has been any, it will appear that it was chiefly owing to your friend Shelburne's intriguing disposition, when he was at the head of the board,¹ who chose rather to draw up representations that might occasion contest and difference of opinion with Ld Egremont and the rest of the Administration, to whom he wished no good, than to attend plainly and simply to the business of his office and the dispatch of the great affairs under his direction.

You desire me to tell you Ld Bute's history in this affair, but there you really impose a very difficult task upon me. I have told you allready part of what I know of it, namely, his having sent to Mr. Pitt and seen him before he (Pitt) was sent for by the King, and I do believe he did advise the King to accept his conditions, and had made terms for none of his friends whatever, except Oswald and Elliott. The former was well contented, and was, as I am informed, Privy to the Negociation; but the other acted a part that I

¹ The Board of Trade.

should not easily have expected from one of his Country. He went to Ld Bute either on the Saturday or Sunday, and told him that his Lordship was doing a thing that would confirm his ruin in the opinion of mankind, that it was base and treacherous beyond measure, and that no man of honour would ever after be seen in his company; that as to himself, tho' the income of his office was no inconsiderable object to him, he would on no account hold it upon such a foundation, and that he had rather beg in the streets than live in plenty with the loss of his reputation. This and some other attacks of the same nature, I imagine operated upon Ld Bute's fears, and contributed greatly to his advising the King to reject Mr. Pitt's proposals, and to stand upon the ground on which he at present is placed. One of the Conditions on which the whole is founded is, that Ld Bute is to retire absolutely out of the King's presence and councils, and to live in the Country till everything is forgot. The King has wrote a letter to him to that purpose, and he himself (Ld B) declares that no consideration upon earth shall make him alter that plan. He has bought a house and estate in Bedfordshire,¹ and, as I am told, is preparing to retire thither with his family immediately. This is the present state of Ld Bute's affairs. If his retreat is delayed, I hope and believe the ministers will drive it on by some representation to the King; but I cannot conceal from you that it is a tender point in the closet, and that it is much to be wished it may work itself right, as I am inclined to think it will, rather than force us to measures that may weaken us in an essential place.

You desire me to reconcile Calcraft and Shelburne's behaviour with Pitt's proscription of the Bedfords and their friends. I cannot reconcile it, but I can explain it, by telling you that they had entirely abandoned us and left us to shift for ourselves, for they never told Rigby, nor me, nor any one of us, that any negociation was on foot, till the whole came out by Mr. Pitt's appearance at Buckingham house.

I believe Pitt's conduct was not concerted either at Windsor or at Claremont, or with any of his party, till after his interview with the King. The Duke of Cumberland was at Woburn on the Sunday, and plainly knew nothing of what had happened but by a letter from Ld Fred. Cavendish from London. Shelburne, who I suppose knew the whole, told me (I think on the Saturday) that the Duke of C. and his friends were to be left out of the arrangement, and I am inclined from many symptoms to think that was first intended. But when Mr. Pitt came to the King, that system was much

¹ Luton Hoo.

altered, and Ld Albemarle was represented as the fittest person to be at the head of the army, after the King had suggested Ld Granby as the most proper for that high station. There was also mention of a great Prince to whom his Majesty owed the crown he wore.

Charles Townshend was to have had the Seals with Mr. Pitt. Upon the change, his brother, who takes his part violently with us, went to sound him, not whether he would accept the same office which was already destined, but whether he would join with us in some other department. According to my information he shewed a disposition to accept the Seals, and said that as he had been placed there in the other plan, he could not figure with us in a lower station. I believe he added that he did not intend to oppose, but I consider those as mere words, and it is taken for granted he will give us all the trouble he can.

What you suggest about the D. of Richmond is already done, as I suppose he will inform you; and I doubt not but that you will use all the means in your power to confirm him in his present good humour.

Ld Granby came to town a day or two ago, and was on Friday with the King for a considerable time. I followed him into the closet, and his Majesty told me he was infinitely satisfied with his language and behaviour. The King told him what Mr. Pitt had said about Ld Albemarle, which has had the right impression, and he takes part with us with the utmost warmth and spirit. In short, everything bears the fairest appearance, but I agree with you that, notwithstanding that, no activity should be wanting to swell our numbers as high as possible. I shall therefore trouble you with some hints of applications, which I hope you will write about immediately, will let me know the answers, and will tell me what others you can apply to that have not occurred to me as being under your influence.

I think there is now but one point in your letter which remains unanswered. I have kept it to the last, because what I have to say to you upon that subject will, I hope, be so agreeable to you, that it will in some degree indemnify you for the long and tiresome detail in the former part of my letter. You have given me an office that I shall certainly execute with the utmost satisfaction, by using every opportunity my present situation gives me of doing you good offices in the closet. I begun that pleasing task on Thursday, by telling the King that I had received a letter from your Lordship, which said everything I could wish with regard to your disposition towards the present system, and contained the strongest expressions of zeal

to his Majesty's person and administration. I own I was apprehensive, from accounts I had received from some of your former friends, that I was talking upon a subject that was rather ungracious, as I had been given to understand that no one was upon so bad terms in the closet as yourself; but to my great satisfaction the King seemed to hear your name mentioned with pleasure, said he thought you would take this part, and interrupted me while I was speaking of you to desire I would tell you particularly from him, that he thought himself much obliged to you for the part you now had taken.

I really believe this is the longest letter I ever wrote, but I could not confine all I thought you would like to hear in a narrower compass, and I hope I have left no point of your enquiries unanswered. Pray let us see you as much before the meeting of Parliament as you conveniently can. You and I have worked together often, but we must now counterwork some of our former agents. One of the best, however, has declared himself handsomely with me, which I believe you will be glad to hear, I mean Gordon; you know him as well as I do to be a very active, usefull fellow.

Adieu, my dear Lord, be assured that I am ever

most unalterably yours,

SANDWICH.

If Mr. Bunbury comes to Paris, I must depend on your taking care that he is over at the opening of the Sessions, but we will endeavour to stop him here. You will also be so good as to get the Duke of Richmond to write to his brother and any other members you think he can influence.

I find there is one point in this letter in which I am mistaken, it was not the King that wrote to Ld Bute, but Ld Bute that wrote to the King to desire leave to retire from his Majesties' presence and councils; which letter was communicated to the Ministers, and considered as measure determined on and as a most necessary part of the system.

MR. G. MACARTNEY TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. October 14th, 1763.

I should have wrote to you, My dear Lord, without waiting to hear from you, but really had nothing worth communicating. I did not, and I believe the great ones themselves did not, know when the Parl^t was to meet, till a

very few days before it was put in the Gazette. I dont think it of great consequence whether it meets late or early; for tho' the Administration cant yet be called very strong, yet the Opposition is far from being formidable. Nothing but the want of resolution in the present Ministers can give the least Weight to the other side. Besides it seems a little disunited; Pitt's private negotiation for a week together without imparting the Secret to any of his Collegues not only gave Jealousy but seem'd to mark his Contempt for them. In his proposals, Charles Townshend was included, but Legge was not taken the least Notice of. I think the best way to ruin Pitt would be to make him once more Minister, and I'd be hang'd if in a Twelvemonth he was not the most unpopular Man in the Kingdom. The Duke of Bedford's coming in is looked on as a kind of favor to the King and his Ministers. The Scheme of the family is, I imagine from what has drop'd from Rigby, to put him at the head of the Treasury; of the family I say, for probably as yet his Grace knows Nothing of the Matter. Lord Granby has been at court lately and offer'd his Assistance to support Government, which was taken so kindly, that 'tis said, nay I am assured from good hands, that he is to have the Command of the Army. He was asked whether he might be absolutely depended upon in Case of Emergence, and answer'd in the Affirmative. As he is very popular and has very extensive Connexions, He certainly must be look'd on as a very great Accession. There is, however, one unfortunate Circumstance in regard to him; He is entirely in Calcraft's hands, and in Money matters very deeply involved with him.

It was Lord Bute who advised sending for Mr. Pitt, and Lord Shelburne did the same. As for this last, he, together with Calcraft, were the go betweens and Messengers, and when the Negociation proved Successless, He resigned, and told the King that after having represented the present Ministry as incapable he could no longer in honor Serve with them. I believe he was much nettled that the Seals were not offered him, and I fancy that was his real reason of resignation; for had he been made Secretary of State, he would have serv'd with any body. I can't say whether Calcraft's intimacy with the Bedfords continues; I should guess that it was rather declining. The Duke and Duchess have never been two days together in town since my Arrival.

George Grenville has been of late a little obstreperous, not at all satisfy'd with Lord Hallifax and Lord Sandwich, and they, I believe, as little with him. Every body seems to look up to you; the People in the City particularly. Now that all hopes of Pitt are over, they can turn their Eyes only towards

you. They are persuaded, and have had experience, of your steddiness and ability. Beckford¹ said, in his blunt way, that it was better a bad Minister that knew what he was about had the Conduct of Affairs, than a Motley, Giddy Ministry without head or Tail, as he says the present one is. Indeed the sober, sensible people were frighten'd out of their wits, for fear Pitt should have come in again. God knows what he might have done, probably plunged us into a New War, or made some Desperate stroke of Politics.

Lord Bute still possesses the King's Confidence as firmly as ever. But 'tis said, or at least the present Ministry give it out, that he has promised not to interfere in any Affairs of State. He applauds highly your not seeing Wilkes, nor returning his Visit, and when he heard of the D. of Bedford's Civility to him, was excessively shocked at it, and said he should never forget it. He has the worst opinion imaginable of Shelburne, and the highest Esteem for you. Great pains had been taken to make him jealous of you. He has from Shelburne's late behaviour got a Clew to several things, which he has now unravelled, and the clearing up of which astonishes him. He says that the Two men who had least deserved it, meaning you and himself, had been most abused. The King has as bad an opinion of Shelburne as you can, and I join with you in thinking that all is over with him. As for being a great man, *c'est fait de lui*.

Lord Hertford sets out for Paris on Thursday next,² and with him David Hume³ as private Secretary. It has been reported that Mr. Bunbury did not intend going, and Lady Kildare told me she believ'd he would not. Lord Hertford's choice of a secretary has occasioned much laughing here. Questions are ask'd whether Mr. Hume as part of the family will be obliged to attend prayers twice a day, and whether his Lordship has got a good, clever Chaplain to keep him steddy, &c., and a thousand Jokes of that kind. Nay some people go so far as to suppose, that either he is now become a convert to infidelity, or that his former Devotion was all Collusion and Hypocrisy.

He was not acquainted with Hume a twelvemonth ago, and yet now, if Bunbury dont go, will have him appointed Secretary to the Embassy.

I had heard that Francis⁴ shou'd say in Miller's shop, when somebody

¹ Beckford, a member of the Court party, for whom Holland was now working, had previously defended him on various occasions, though opposed to him in politics.

² As British ambassador.

³ The historian.

⁴ Rev. Philip Francis (1708?-1773), originally a schoolmaster, whose application to his

advised him against publishing his pamphlet, "I wou'd rather lose my Existence than my Revenge." My interest in everything that regards you induced me to enquire what he was about. I therefore desired a friend of mine to invite him at the same time with me, but without apprising him of my Coming. I put him in mind my having seen him at Holland House, upon which he asked me for Lady Caroline and Ste. I told him they were well, and added that you enjoy'd a better state of health than when you left England. He then talked of his once happy days with you, ran out in praise of your Virtues, Understanding, &c., &c.; said that he was the only one of your friends that you forgot; that he had lived seven years in the highest degree of Familiarity and Confidence with you, and that at the end of that time you had left him fifty pound a year Worse than you had found him. He then launched out into a long Detail of his Story, in a very theatrical Manner, and in the same words that he has rehearsed it in several places, as I had been informed. Declared he had no rancor to you; but he owed something to himself, a small Gratification, he wou'd not call it Revenge, but what he was obliged to take for his own honor, and the only one in his power, as he did not wear — Ruffles. He talked half an hour in this Wild Manner, abused Dr. Young, called him a Voluntary Bastard, who had crept into Preferment by Smock Simony, gave a Side Wipe to my lord Ilchester and Dr. Stone, talked of the Dignity of Christ's Church, said he'd shew the world what a Connoisseur in Bishops Lord Northumberland was, called Hamilton a Jackanapes, and quoted passages from your letter to this last on occasion of Dr. Young's promotion, for it seems he had shewn it to Calcraft. He made some strictures upon it, and was going on with great rapidity till I stop'd him, tho' not without some difficulty. As I was proceeding to answer him by showing how absurd and unbecoming his Conduct was, he pulled out his handkerchief, wiped his eyes, and owned that you had given his Son a place of £1,000 a year, by which he had lost his Child, who now he says will not speak to him. He seemed much affected. You, who know him, can best judge of these emotions. He concluded by saying that he never had a Bishoprick in his thoughts for himself, he only wished for a competence; and that there was yet one way left to deprecate his intended publication, which was for you to give him £300 p. an., till you

duties was insufficient to retain his pupils. He was recommended to Lady Caroline Fox as private chaplain, and acted as private tutor to Charles James Fox at Eton. He was made Chaplain of Chelsea Hospital in 1764; and his chief cause of quarrel with his patron was for not securing him an Irish Bishoprick. His son was the better known Sir Philip Francis.

got him a living. He made a Distinction with regard to a living that he might obtain by another interest. He insisted that you, and you only must get him the living. He seems to me a very strange sort of man, and I shou'd think somewhat hurt in his Mind.

My own Business will be finished in a few days. I am then totally at your Lordship's disposal, either to set out for Paris, or remain here till your Arrival. If I can be of the smallest use to you, you know how happy you will make me by honoring me with y^r commands. I am entirely yours from Inclination as well as Gratitude. You have given me that Ease of Mind, which I had been for some time a Stranger to, and made me perfectly happy. Since my Coming over, I have reason to prize the Obligation still more, as I fear I could not have brought my own scheme to bear without the Greatest Difficulty or Disadvantage.

I propose going to Eton on Sunday next, and shall write by the following post. My best and sincerest compliments wait on Lady Holland. I beg she will do me the honor to accept a pair of Buckles in a new taste, which Mr. Hume is so good as to carry for her. My dear Ste is well, I hope, and likely to continue so. Remember me most kindly to him. Mr. Upton got his box the day after we arrived. He is out of town at present, I believe, at Lord Shelburne's, whom I fear he will hardly ever be able to teach your lessons to ———. I suppose you know that Pitt, in his Conference with the King, refused absolutely to serve with the Duke of Bedford.

I am, my dear Lord, with every sentiment of Respect, Gratitude, and Esteem,

Ever, ever yours,
G. M.

P.S. Since the writing of the foregoing sheets, a very Intimate acquaintance of mine came to me; I believe from Lord Bute, as he is very particularly connected with him. He asked me a number of Questions about you, which I answered with as much reserve as possible. He asked me very particularly whether I thought you could be persuaded to take the lead again in administration. I said I really was ignorant of your political intentions; but that were I in your situation, happy as you are in your family and every Domestic enjoyment, I would not. And particularly after being so ill treated as you had been, and I instanced the Affair of the peerage. He said that he was sure Lord Bute had done every thing in his power to serve you in that affair, but

that he was very delicate with the King, and that in a point of that kind where the King has such singular notions, he was afraid to press him. He then asked me very eagerly whether I thought an Earldom would put you in good humor. I said I believ'd you would take it kindly, but that I was sure after what had passed, you never would ask it. He then told me the high esteem Lord Bute had for you, that he knew your Talents, and that there was so much frankness in all your transactions with him that it was a very high satisfaction to do business with you. He said you had been an unsuccessfull Minister, but that was owing to your not having the King's ear sufficiently; for that no sooner had you left St. James's than Newcastle came and destroy'd every thing that you had done. From what passed my own conjecture is this. That Lord Bute, either from ambition of his own, or friendship to the King, wishes to have somebody at the head of affairs whom he can depend on. The late negotiation with Pitt has put him out of the Question, and he thinks there is no body but you whom he can trust or have any Confidence in, as all the other Ministers had betray'd him or treated him ill. I dont find that he has the best opinion in the world of Sandwich.

During the whole time that Shelburne was at the board of trade, he did not do one single article of business.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. Octo. 14, 1763.

MY DEAR LORD.

I did not receive your letter, dated from Aubigny,¹ Octo. 2, till yesterday, and you will judge of my activity by receiving the enclosed under flying seal (which if you approve you will forward), and by being informed that Mr. Grenville will write tonight (or at latest by the next mail) to the Duke of Richmond, to tell him tout court, and without any explanation, that his Majesty has appointed him Ld Lieutenant of Sussex.

What you mention of your intelligence with regard to me is true in no part. In the first place, I dont know that I gain ground, and secondly, I neither did, nor could give the advice you was told I did without breach of honour, nor would it be consistent with my safety and the ground I mean to stand upon if I did. Surely it must be obvious to you that I must not give your friend Shelburne any advantage over me, and if I stood on that line it would

¹ The Duke of Richmond's estate in France.

be in his power to ruin me whenever he pleased. My part is to keep clear of negotiation, and to keep my friends so; and I can have no strength to that purpose, if my conduct towards them is not clear and consistent.

Everything seems to bear the best appearance, and I do assure you that the early meeting of the Parliament makes a very favourable impression in the world with regard to the present system; but I much wish you was amongst us. I wish it (as I have already told you) for the sake of the publick, and most particularly so for my own; for you need not be told how much attention I have in all times paid to your advice. It is therefore natural for me, for want of feathers of my own, to wish to shine in borrowed plumes.

I have not the least suspicion that letters directed to me are opened on this side of the water, but if you think otherwise, it is impossible you can at this time be a week without a safe conveyance.

I hope we shall keep Mr. Bunbury in England. I wish you would write to Ld Kildare to engage him with us and to stay in London where he now is. Can you give me a natural introduction to him? If you do, I will improve it as well as I am able.

Ld Tankerville is, I believe, at Dijon; can you get his Proxy? If you can, I will send you a blank for him to sign.

I write this letter in the Pay Office.¹ What do you propose to do for a house when you come to town? However, for God's sake don't let any difficulty of that sort deter you from coming, for I had much rather lye in the street than be deprived for a moment longer than was absolutely necessary of the advantage of your counsell and assistance.

Adieu, my dear Lord, believe me ever,

most faithfully yours,

SANDWICH.

HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

October 18th, 1763. H. House.

You have heard from Mr. Fannen the reason of my being here, and I flatter myself you will approve of my conduct with respect to coming home. I am now pretty well, but I shall be able to tell you more on this subject when

¹ Lord Sandwich was lent the Pay Office by Lord Holland, and resided there for two years.

I have seen Mr. Hawkins,¹ who comes at two o'clock. I saw Macartney last night, who (thro' my negligence), not knowing I was here, had been to Eton in quest of me. He shewed me your letter to him, which alarms me for this reason, viz., you say you must do all the little you can zealously, and Macartney told me he had seen a Man (as he thought) coming from Ld Bute, who asked him whether Ld Holland would take the lead, whether an Earldom would tempt him much, and at the same time told him the great regard Ld Bute had for you; that he would have made you a Viscount, had he not laid it down as a maxim never to press the King for any thing that was disagreeable to him. But I suppose you have heard, or will hear all this from Macartney. This, I say, alarms me, as Ld Bute will desire you probably to take part in the ministry, and you by your letter seem to think you cannot refuse it.

Now I am on the subject of Politics, I cannot help relating a circumstance, which struck me very much. Talking with Ld Fitz-William, who is a very sensible boy, about politics, he mentioned, among other people, you, and said that you, three days before you undertook the conduct of the H. of Commons, had promised the D. of Devon. to take whatever part he did. I know enough of Ld Fitz-William, to be very sure he would not have said so, had he not heard it from somebody whom he believed. Ought the Duke of Devon. to suffer this to be talk of his friends, Ld Rockingham, Ld Lin., &c.?

I am sure both you and my mother will abuse me for thinking so much on Politics, so that I shall say no more about them, and speak more about Eton affairs, which are more proper subjects for me to write upon. Tho' I have made no very good verses since the Hollidays, I have not been idle; as I have made some good themes, and studied a good deal in other parts of my business. And indeed I have taken some pains in Verses, but from long disuse they do not come easy to me. Even now I am here I am not entirely idle; I read Tully, and look over many speeches to speak when I return, which shall be as soon as Mr. Hawkins says I can. I hope, when you come, you will be able to spare one Tuesday or Saturday to come to Eton to hear me speak. Dr. Barnard² thanked me for his snuff box, and said it was very much against his interest to advise me to be absent in the Summer, rather than now, as by that means the School lost so great an ornament at Election speeches. I cannot help saying that I find Eton more disagreeable than I imagined; for which reason I think I am determined not to go to Paris

¹ The surgeon.

² Headmaster of Eton.

at Xmas. My mother will be sorry to hear this. I wish, however, I could contrive a way to see Ste. I am so fully convinced of the use of being at Eton, that I am afraid of running the risque of not returning. I have also resolved to stay there till Xmas twelvemonth; by this you may see the petit maître de Paris is converted into an Oxford Pedant. I am satisfied you will not disapprove of this resolution, and I hope therefore you will not endeavour to dissuade me from it, as I am convinced you will willingly consent to spend six weeks less agreeably, to make me a much better Scholar than I should otherwise be, which is a glory you know I very much desire.

I mention nothing of Ly Kildare; Mrs. Fannen will write an account of her. Mr. and Mrs. Nicoll, Mrs. Younge, and every body here, are all very well, tho' Mrs. Nicoll says I hurt Mr. Nicoll¹ by making him talk. I have had a letter from the Bishop, in which he says he was much pleased with the friendly manner in which the Primate spoke of you. I have not heard of Ly Sarah or Mr. Bunbury; indeed I have been ashamed to write to either of them, as well I might, so that I know nothing of them except what I heard from Ly Kildare, who said it was uncertain whether they went to Paris. Macartney, I suppose, has told you what passed between him and Mr. Francis. I cannot help thinking of his dedication to his *Demosthenes*, which he ends thus:—"It must be matter of indifference to me whether you chuse to serve the state in a public or private capacity. Whatever your changes in Politics may be, I must allways be your most *obliged* humble Servant, Phil. Francis."

In your letter to Mrs. Younge, you say you believe the Pay office will not be yours in Spring. Are you to be Privy seal? I hope you are. Calcraft is much abused, tho' the story (as it goes) is much in his favour. It is as follows:—Ld H. having told Ld S.² that he would resign the P.O., Ld S. told this to Ld B., which when Ld H. found out, he denied that he had ever said it. Ld S. however persisted, and appealed to C., who owned the truth. Ld S.'s conduct towards Ld B. I think now sufficiently proves that he betrayed you designedly. But I shall be scolded for being a Politician. One of the reasons that induced me to make the resolution I have made in regard to going to Eton, is that, in your letter to Macartney, you say that possibly you may spend the winter after this at Paris. If so, I shall see my Brother and have a good opportunity of being at Paris,

¹ John Nicholl, an official of high standing in the Pay Office, and a personal friend of Lord Holland.

² Shelburne.

which has (I confess) great charms for me. I forgot to tell you that the Primate has not only shown his regard for you by words, but has shown very obliging civilities to the Bishop. I shall say nothing to my mother or Brother, as I propose writing to each of them very soon.

I am, dear Sir, your most dutiful,

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

P.S. I am much diverted at your piteous case, who, with three houses, two in London and one within two miles of London, are forced to hire lodgings. Mr. Hawkins is just gone. He says I am in a mending way, and shall be soon well, tho' he says he would hardly advise me to return to Eton in less than ten days. However you may be assured, I will not stay longer than is absolutely necessary. My comp^{ts} to M^{me}. Coislin if you see her.

MR. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

[?October 18, 1763.]

MY DEAR LORD.

I am exceedingly sorry that I was so mistaken about d'Eon's book;¹ but I really had no opportunity of sending it, but by Mons^r. de Blosset, to whom I did not think it proper to propose a Commission of that Kind, and I did not doubt, but, as I said before, that you would meet with it at Paris, as I heard that d'Eon had contrived to send some over, which I supposed would have been vended sous Cape. I shall repair my fault as well as I can, by taking Care that you meet with one on your arrival at Dover, together with the Memoire. M^e. Geoffrin will have the last word, and I am au bout de toutes mes jolies choses. You must know that L^d Tavistock hinted to me that he would take charge of a Letter but nothing else, and Mr. Keith I never saw, or scarcely know; and this is no small parcell, as you will find.

A prosecution is already commenced against d'Eon for a Libell, and the Corps diplomatique have had one or two meetings to consider what satisfaction should be demanded, but all I can learn from them is that it is a Cause

¹ D'Eon was Secretary to M. de Nivernois, the French Ambassador, and in the interval between the latter's departure and the arrival of his successor, M. de Guerchy, he acted as Minister. This seemed to have turned his head, for, refusing to deliver his letters of recall, he published a series of libels on Guerchy and others in book form, which became the subject of a prosecution for libel.

commune. I shall go to Newmarket on Friday, but be in London in the next week, time enough to wait on you and Lady Holland if you come directly from Dover. I hope your stay on the road will not be long; I am very impatient to see you and in better spirits than I expect to find you.

You will have heard that Berkeley has at last carried his point. Pitt's Gout is so bad that his particular friends are of Opinion that he cannot last long; his Thighs are swelled to an enormous size. I hear Calcraft's Influence over him is surprising. This is an astonishing part of Pitt's History. I own I thought his pride would have served as a veil to that part of his Character.

What you mention about your place, tally's exactly with what I heard L^d Thomond say to-day, in Contradiction to a report that a proposal had been sent to you from Bedford House to quitt it. The report added that you had mentioned the Privy Seal as an Alternative. I believe you are the master of this transaction yourself. I hope you will bring Ste up to town. Adieu, my dear Lord, I shall hope for the pleasure of hearing very soon of your arrival, and nothing but yourself will prevent me from paying my very earliest Respects to you.

Tuesday.

EARL OF SANDWICH TO LORD HOLLAND.

Pay Office. Octo. 18, 1763.

MY DEAR LORD.

I have just received your letter of the 11th, and tho' I have nothing very particular to add to what I lately wrote to you, I can't resist the opportunity of a safe conveyance to say a few words to you.

I mean nothing farther in saying I wish to see you here on your *own account*, than because I think everybody's affairs prosper best in their own hands. I think these are times that your presence, added to some little assistance and intelligence I could give you, would enable you to remove some unjust prejudices that I was told were formed against you, and which, to my great satisfaction from what I see, I hope have been exaggerated to me by some of your former friends. You need not doubt of my taking every opportunity of representing you in a favourable light, wherever I think it will be most usefull to you, but still I say we can do much more for each other when we are not divided by the ocean.

I entirely agree with you, and thank you for your advice, not to be too

forward upon the tender point. I begin to find out how the ground lies in that particular instance, but tho' it would be wrong for me to be too forward in expressing my dislike of that connection, it would be worse in me to have any intercourse there, or to hesitate to take my part, if anything was to be undertaken in opposition to that system. however I believe I shall not be put to that difficulty, for it seems to me that things will go on in their present state, without any animosity or any cordiality. It is not the same thing as when you was active in business, as you had a colleague whose timidity and weakness bore you down; he is now in retirement, and if things go on well at the opening of the Sessions, as I am persuaded they will, can surely have no reason to wish to throw them again into confusion.

I hope you approve of our dispatch, and of the manner of complying with the Duke of Richmond's request; he is in the Gazette of this evening as Ld Lieutenant of Sussex, and I have wrote him a letter, to inform him of my having received the King's commands yesterday to order his patent to be made out.

As you now are informed of the day of the meeting of the Parliament, I hope you will begin to prepare for your journey to England. I do assure you I wish much to see you, and that I am with very unfeigned truth,

most faithfully yours,

SANDWICH.

Be so good as to forward the enclosed letter.

It is intended that Ld Hillsborough should move the Address; do you think it would be possible to engage the Duke of Richmond to second him? If you give me any encouragement, I will write to him on that head.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Paris. Thursday. 19 July [1764].

MY DEAR LORD.

I have by your kindness and my own Recommendation profited, as they say, of the Letter which I presented from you to the Abbé de Broglie, who has very well answered my most sanguine hopes from that Stratagème of which le bon homme a été bien le dupe. He would not shew me the Letter, but sayd it was un portrait de moi fort avantageux. I remember a Remark in one of the *Spectators* that may be in a hundred places besides, but is not the less true, y^t

many a man becomes a Bankrupt by too large a Credit. Qu'il plaise à Dieu que je ne me trouve dans ce Cas. However, the first impression is not easily wore out, and I hope I shall have the pleasure of paying my Respects to you and Lady Holland, before any new ones can succeed to those which you have given of me to the Abbé de Broglie. I dined there yesterday. I had to entertain me the Comte de Broglie, M^e. la Comtesse, une Croix de S^t Louis, un Abbé de toilette, and a Scotch Gentleman, whom I presumed to be in the French Service and invited to help me out at a pinch. I think the Abbé cannot have been informed as yet of my partiality to Scotland. I was more than questioned about Mr. d'Eon. On m'a donné la question. I found I was among those who were rather disposed to favor him and abuse his antagonist. I had totally forgott that D'Eon had been Aid de Camp to the Comte de B. I was obliged to ménager mes termes. But I would not make a sacrifice of Guerchy. He has been very obliging to me, et je suis reconnoissant à propos de la reconnoissance.

I beg you will do for me; what you may think perhaps I am more à portée to do for myself, and that is, thank Stee exceedingly for his great Civilities to me. I was never so conveniently lodged or so agreeably, since I knew Paris. The Comfort of a clean apartment in a private House makes my whole time more comfortable to me. He will tell you more certainly than I can do of his motions. He was to have gone to Spa today, but having putt it off till Monday or Tuesday, I should be tempted to wish he would do as he did at London, come to Paris for a few days and stay as many months, if his Health did not require his going any where else.

I must tell you a trait of the Comte de Lauraguais. Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary¹ are come for a few days here. They were at Lady Hertford's the other day when the Comte came in. Mr. Churchill was presented to him, whom he took for Churchill the Poet. Upon being informed it was not, he said immediately, "Tant pis, Monsieur, pour vous, car vous n'avez pas apparemment autant d'esprit que lui." I have made Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary repeat the words to me over and over again, et les voilà.

I shall go to Compiègne next week as soon as Ld March comes. Stee approves of my dress extremely. He says my Coat is very well, if you see it at a distance, but not extraordinary; but if you look at it near, it is excess-

¹ Colonel Charles and Lady Mary Churchill. She was a natural daughter of Sir Robert Walpole by Maria Skerrett, before his marriage with her. Churchill was also the natural son of General Churchill and Mrs. Oldfield, the actress.

ively pretty. I own that I rather desire the approbation of myself or w^t belongs to me to come from a nearer survey, than to create any sudden admiration, that is generally very short lived.

I saw yesterday at M^e. Poirier's two very large pieces of China in the shape of shells. They were of the Blue China which Lady Ilchester likes, sett in the or moulu, the price ten Louis. Do you think Lady Ilchester would like to have them?

A verdict is found agst d'Eon, as I hear. What is your opinion of the judgment of the court, as to his punishment?

I should be extremely happy to hear from you while I am at Paris, and to have now and then an anecdote, which I believe you can furnish me with notwithstanding your distance from London. I beg my best respects to Lady Holland, and am with all kind of Respect and affection,

Your Lordship's &c.

MR. G. MACARTNEY TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. August 7, 1764.

I SHARE most sincerely, My dear Lord, in every thing that gives you pleasure. The air of gaiety that breathes in every line of your Letter, shews me how much you enjoy yourself at Kingsgate. Lady Holland and Charles are with you, Little Harry¹ too if I mistake not, and Ste is well and happy. I wish very much to see you, and intended long since to have been at Margate, but have been detain'd from day to day in hopes of kissing hands.² Lord B.'s³ letter is at last come. He talks of the Treaty of Commerce being en train (that of alliance is out of the Question). He wishes to conclude the former, and seems desirous of staying some time Longer in Russia. Lord S.⁴ pays very little regard to what he writes, and has sent him a Letter by last post to desire he will fix a Day for his Absolute departure that I may set out accordingly, as it is judged improper that Court shou'd be long left without a Minister. Lord S. comes to town tomorrow, and assures me he will do every thing in his Power to make me kiss hands this week. He is an excellent

¹ Hon. Henry Edward Fox (1755-1811), Lord Holland's youngest son, who became a distinguished general in the British army.

² He had been recently appointed Envoy to St Petersburg.

³ John, Earl of Buckinghamshire, British Minister in Russia, 1762-1764.

⁴ Lord Sandwich, the Secretary of State.

Man to do Business with, and always speaks to the Purpose. He told me how very ready he shou'd always be to oblige me on your Account, mention'd the great Services you had done him on the most essential occasions, and spoke of you with all the Tenderness of the Sincerest Friendship. I know not why the World has been so severe to him. I protest in all that I have seen, and lately I have seen his Lordship a good deal, there was not the smallest Trifle the Most rigid Moralist cou'd blame. I passed the last week at Hinchbrook, where every thing breathed gaiety, Freedom, and good humor. We had a large Party. Besides Seilern, Masserano, and Wilderen, we had Lord Waldegrave, Orford, Bolingbroke, Greville Vernon, Shaftoe, Lord Carysfort, Sir John Cotton, &c. Tell Lady Holland the Imperial Seilern¹ opened the ball at Huntingdon with a Minuet, but cou'd not be prevailed on to venture a Country dance, tho to tell you the truth we did all in our power to persuade him to expose himself.

I inclose for Lady Holland's perusal a Newspaper with the list of Lady Holderness's wardrobe, which I hear is confiscated beyond Redemption.²

Rigby, Lord Farnham, and Stanley set out for Paris together, I believe, on a meer Jaunt of Pleasure, at least I have heard no particular reason assigned for Rigby's going. The Duke of Bedford intended to have gone to Compiègne, but Lord Tavistock's wedding and Bedford Races prevented it. The races begun yesterday, but there is scarce a Soul at Woburn.

Mr. Legge's health is very unequal; sometimes he appears to be much better, at others almost at Extremity. Tis said he may languish in his present Condition a good while longer, but can never totally recover.³

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Paris. Monday. 13 August [1764].

MY DEAR LORD.

I can obey none of your Commands with more pleasure than your last, which were to write often; and as they are your Commands, my writing often needs not the Apology it must otherwise require. Your last letter from the Abbé, in my opinion requires no more thanks than I shall return him from you. They are chiefly due from me; but I cannot be any more my own

¹ Count von Seillern, the Austrian Minister.

² Lady Holderness had imported 114 gowns, which were seized under the Customs regulations (see *Walpole's Letters*, ed. Toynbee .vi, 399).

³ He died a few days later.

Panegyrist, for Hume has betrayed me, and told the Broglies that I forced you to say all that good of me. M^e. de Broglie says there was parts in that, and she likes me y^e better for it. I own I did not feel ashamed at the discovery of my Imposture. As to Lady H^d commissions, the 1st concerning the white china, Lair brought me word he knew nothing of it. Lett that be renewed in your next. The white ribbon beau et blanc, how much? The Chamber pots, how many and of what sort? Are they to be sent now, or to come with my things? And to whom directed? I beg an answer to these in your next, and they shall be taken care of immediately. Morgan has bought the two pieces of blue china; they cannot sure be Sèvres. I imagined they would have suited Lady Ilchester exactly. I have certainly read over d'Eon's book, but I had really at my first interview forgott the Connection, One of the ill consequences of too much dissipation. The Comte and M^e. go to-day for three months into the provinces. The Maréchal Duke comes the latter end of this; I must contrive to humbug him somehow or other. I find my account in it, they are excessively obliging. Beaucoup was very civil upon Sandwich's letter, but diverted with his acc^t of me. I had not the penning of that. M^e. Geoffrin and I go on extremely well together. I have renewed my acquaintance with Hainault. My number of French acquaintance encreases greatly, but rather too much mixed with English. I coud wish to see none but Ste and March. Mr. Elliot likes his new life extremely. Stanley is very obliging, and very happy seemingly with his new Government. Rigby and his provost scour the provinces next Wenesday for 2 months. Johnson and his wife are here in their way to England from Minorca.

Lady Holland is pleased that I speak so much of Stee. I hope she does not think it flattery; it is not on my Honor. I feel much obliged by his civilities to me and March, and Ld March begs Lady Holland will say something civil from him and me to him. The convenience of his house is very great, and his name here does me Credit. I know nothing of the disposal of your Books; I have one in my hands, ab^t which I have no direction; it waits for your commands. Churchill and Lady M. are gone. Paris is said to be empty, and comparatively I suppose it is, but every body seems en l'air, so when they come here tho' but for 24 hours, I see them. Lady Hertford seems much dissatisfied with her life, this entre nous, here. Lord H. not so much, but he is impenetrable; he has a fence of Civility about him—that it is all representation, and I know little ab^t him.

I am, my dear Lord, very cordially and very respectfully yours.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Paris. Sunday. 9 Sept^r [1764].

MY DEAR LORD.

I was extremely glad to receive the honour of a Letter from you last night: I was afraid I was out of favour, and that I should be obliged to leave Paris without any further éclaircissement in regard to Lady Holland's and your Commands. I have them now, and they shall be punctually executed; but I must apply to the Dutchess de Cossé by her father's chanell, for he has not as yet done me the Honour to present me to her. If she has a Book, I shall leave this that is now in my possession, to be disposed of by Stee when he comes, whom I am afraid I shall not see, which will be a disagreeable Contretems, because honnêtement I should be upon the Spott to receive him to deliver him up the keys of his Château, and to return him many thanks for his great Civilities to me and to Lord March. I hope that has been done already by you or Lady Holland. I hear he does not come till the 24; I am afraid I cannot be able to stay here longer than the 22^d. I found last night with your Letter an invitation to dine with the Abbé de Broglie, but I rather suspect since Mr. H.¹ absurdity that I have not been so well with him. I only guess so by my invitations, since that, not being so frequent, w^{ch} may be from accident. I believe we never mistake oftner or more, than where we fancy ourselves either slighted or Loved. Ask Mr. Greville how that is? If the Duc de la Rochefoucault was living I would not give you that trouble. But a word for that Historian. He may in that be excellent, for ought I know, but in common Society he seems a man of the most clumsy capacity I ever saw, and to speak the truth, the fuss w^{ch} the people of this Country have made with a man on account of perfections of which I am confident they are no judge, and whose manners are so unlike their own, has lessened them not a little in my opinion. Our Abbé, I believe, is a good old fogram enough, but as I suppose by this time a day he may have contracted some of that peevishness which is concomitant on age, so perhaps he may not understand raillerie, and Mr. H.'s is not of the best kind.

I am glad to hear Mr. Macartney is not yet gone. I hope this delay will give me an opportunity of paying my Compliments to him once more before he leaves us. Will you be so good as to tell him that I wish he will

¹ David Hume.

lett a Coppersmith in London see one of the [*illegible*] to Copy it, least I should not be able to gett any over. Charles's pamphlet I have read¹ and did not like; it was so inferior to what we expected from him, and especially on that subject, that Mr. Elliot does not believe him to be the author of it. Horry's² I have sent to Guerchy. If it is but peevish enough I shall like it. As to his argument it is a jest, and so would the Government have been if it had not done exactly what it did. I have nothing to blame but the delay myself. Pardonnez nous, Grands dieux! si le peuple romain a tardé si long tems à Condamner Tarquin.

I purpose to be in London on the 28, where I shall have an opportunity de vous renouveler les assurances de l'estime, avec laquelle, j'ai l'honneur d'être, &c., &c.

I shall make you pay something extraordinary, if it is only to present my best respects to Lady Holland, and to Lord and Lady Ilchester if this finds you with them. I purpose making a visit to Lord Digby, if possible, and what gives me hopes of it is that I shall go to Matson the beginning of October, and may perhaps take Bath in my way to London. Ld March and Guerchy and I go to L'Isle Adam tomorrow sevensnight; we have been very much at St Cloud with the Duc de Chartres, who has made me very much amends for the neglect which I have received from His Highness the Prince of [*illegible*]. M^e. de Coislin has not been here since I came to Paris; I hear she arrives the 15. Lord Cov. has been here abt three weeks; he setts out on Tuesday for England, to prepare for his nuptials. His preparation here has been the most extraordinary that ever was made for any Sacrament whatever, but he is what I will leave Stee to describe.³ I own his follies don't divert me so much as they do the generality of the people of White's.

HON. C. J. FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

Piccadilly. [October 11, 1764.]

You will be surprized that I am still in town, but will not, I believe, disapprove my stay, when I tell you that Mr. Newcome does not go till

¹ Charles Townshend's pamphlet on General Warrants.

² H. Walpole's pamphlet in defence of his friend Conway, who had been dismissed from the Ministry for his action on the Wilkes prosecution in the House of Commons.

³ Lord Coventry married Barbara, daughter of Lord St. John of Bletsoe, as his second wife.

Sunday, and that till then no business begins chez nous autres.¹ I shall go with him. I begged Mr. Fannen to inform you of what Lord Buckingham told me with regard to the Duke of Cum.; as for the D. of Devonshire, it is over with him. Lord De Lawarr, whom you thought likely to die, was very well at Court last Sunday, as I was informed by Ly Anne Fitzwilliam. My picture is almost finished, and is indeed without considering it partially on account of the subject, the best picture, in my opinion, that Reynolds ever painted.² The Bishop of Dromore, with whom I dined to day, begs me much to give him my picture; I told him I would. I hope you will not grudge the expence. I have seen a good deal of Fitzwilliam, who goes abroad next Wednesday; excepting him and his Excellency none of my acquaintance are in town. I have had a letter from Ophaly³ who tells me his Brother Charles has all the symptoms of the small pox. I am glad my Mother has heard from my Brother at last. Mr. Patterson, whom I did not see till to day, says he will look at a draft of your will which he has in the City, and speak to me farther about it Saturday, when I shall again dine at the Bishop of Dromore's.

I am just come from making a visit to Ly Hervey; she did not throw away her praises. I think she is a woman of penetration and judgement. She says the Prince of Conti talks of coming to England incognito, to see so extraordinary a set of People. Adieu, my dear Father, and believe me to be your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

CHA^s JA^s Fox.

Pray tell my Mother that I wish I had *les Contes arabes* to read till I go to bed. Has she read much of them since I left you? You are probably by this time in bed, as it is by the Horse guards twenty minutes after ten.

HON. C. J. FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

Piccadilly. [October 13, 1764.]

You will think it very extravagant when you hear that I have drawn for £150 on Mr. Fannen. I will therefore take some pains to explain it to you. I

¹ Fox was sent to Oxford in October 1764, and was placed at Hertford College, under the tuition of Dr. Newcome, afterwards Primate of Ireland.

² Two pictures of Fox are recorded by Graves (*Sir Joshua Reynolds*), painted about this time. One is now in the Provost's lodge at Eton; the other in 1884 belonged to Lady Ashburton.

³ Lord Kildare's eldest son.

owed Mr. Fannen for what he had paid to Mrs. Milward for me £37. 18/-; and the Taylor £13 for debts contracted before I left Eton. So far I own is extravagance. These two debts alone reduce the £150 I drew for to £100. Now there is a great deal I have spent since I left Eton, which was absolutely necessary. I have had a great many new shirts, &c., new stockings, one new frock, which reduced the £100 to little more than £60. Now I was told one must have some spoons at Oxford. I had six made, which came to about £7, this reduced it to £53. There are many other trifles which have reduced it at last to £34. 11/-, which is all I have left. You will easily perceive that I shall soon want more, as I believe I have something to pay for putting up paper in my room at Oxford and other things of that sort, but Mr. Newcome tells me that whatever I lay out upon my rooms at Oxford, I shall have two thirds of it repaid by my Successor. I forgot to mention my journey from Kingsgate hither, which helped not a little to reduce. I go tomorrow. I have nothing more to say at present, except that I shall see Mr. Patterson to night and settle matters with him. I have just had my teeth cleaned by Lodomer, which has cost me a Guinea. I dined yesterday with his Excellency, and saw there Mr. Burk, whom I think one of the most agreeable men I have known. The D. of Devonshire is very little talked of. Mr. Ranby still continues at Newmarket, and it is said the Duke had his leg laid open, but that otherwise he is perfectly well.

What translation of *Davila* is best? I have begun one which I like well enough; but it is written in old English, which I do not think agreeable.

Pray give my Love to my mother. Adieu.

Your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

CHA^s JA^s FOX.

HON. C. J. FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

Oxford. [October 24, 1764.]

I can not express how much ashamed I am to write to you on this occasion, but as I know there is nothing which you desire more than that we should place confidence in you, I am induced to write to you, to tell you that since my arrival here I have been so foolish as to break all the good resolutions I had formed in regard to play, and have lost upwards of eighty Guineas. I told you in my last that I had but £34 left. The expences of entering come

to £20, and several things besides, which I had to pay for when I came hither, have almost consumed the remaining £14; so that with what I owed to my Servant (which I could not pay till I came hither, because the bills were left at Kingsgate with my books) I have no money left, and owe eighty Guineas. I fear my imprudence will lessen your good opinion of me, and justly; but I think I can answer for myself for the future, as I have made a most fixed Resolution never again to play. I think I shall have Courage to keep it, but can not be sure enough of my strength to give an absolute *Promise*. I shall draw on Mr. Fannen for £100, which is as much as I can reasonably ask for without your particular leave, tho' it will be by no means sufficient; as when I have paid what I owe I shall scarcely have £20 left. I hope therefore you will give me an order for more. I will say no more on a subject so disagreeable to me, except that the uneasiness it gives me, when I reflect how wrong it is to the most affectionate Father, is sufficient punishment for my folly.

I have read a good deal, but have not yet begun Mathematics with Mr. Newcome. He stays till the rest of his Pupils come, who are all expected this week, so that next Monday we shall begin *Euclid*. I have read with him part of *Aristotle's Rhetorick*, and have (by myself) read about half *Davila*, which is very interesting, and I think very well written. I read an old translation of it by Cotterell and Aylesbury; I can not hear of any one by Dryden or his son. If S^r George is still with you pray give my love to him, but do not tell him of my playing. I think as you do of Ly Susan:¹ this last action of hers is intolerable.

I am, my dear Father, you most dutiful and affectionate Son, C. J. Fox.

SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Konigsberg. Monday. December 12th, 1764.

MY DEAR LORD.

I suppose you have received my letter from Harwich with an Account of my conference with Mr. Grenville, relative to Mr. O'Brien.

I intended to have wrote to you from Berlin, but the hurry that always attends one in my situation prevented me from having that pleasure. I cant

¹ Lady Susan Fox-Strangways, Lord Ilchester's daughter, eloped with and married William O'Brien, an actor of good family, in April 1764.

flatter myself that my letters will be very entertaining to you, but the most heartfelt satisfaction I have is to express my gratitude for the uncommon friendship you have honor'd me with. The great obligations I owe you, are such as I can never sufficiently repeat, and believe me, My dear Lord, whilst I live I shall always cherish the dearest sense of them.

It is now near two Months since I took leave of you at Kingsgate. As I wish'd to get to Russia as soon as possible, I set out from England the moment I cou'd be ready. I stay'd but a few days at the Hague, where I was loaded with caresses and civility. The Duke Louis of Brunswick was uncommonly obliging; the Corps diplomatique polite beyond expression. Sir Joseph Yorke¹ in particular did the honors in such a Manner, as I must always remember with pleasure. I then went to Amsterdam, and passing by Hanover, Brunswick, Berlin, and Dantzic, am at last arrived here.

Lady Yarmouth being indisposed, I was deprived of an opportunity of seeing her, but had a very polite Message from her.

Nothing could be more gracious than my Reception at the Court of Brunswick. Duke Ferdinand was there, and honored me with a good deal of his conversation. He is one of the most agreeable, unaffected men I ever met with; the Hereditary Prince² is not less so, but nothing can equal the affection, almost adoration, every one has for our Princess. His Highness of Orange was enchanted with her when she passed at the Hague, and asked her with great eagerness, "Si elle n'avoit point de sœur qui lui ressembloit." The King of Prussia was particularly taken with her. She asked me a great many questions about Susan,³ and said a great many handsome things of your Lordship, which surprized me, as I thought you had not been a favorite with her. She told me she had been very intimate with Lady Harriet Wentworth, and spoke of her marriage with infinite indignation.

I dont wonder the late King was so fond of Kensington. The gardens are the very counterpart of Herenhausen, which is the most paltry place I ever saw. I think there is very little danger of his present Majesty's having the same Partiality of his grandfather for his German Dominions. Hanover, at least where we past, is a barren, heathy country, very ill cultivated and very thinly inhabited. The Misery of the Peazants is extreme, and seems

¹ British Ambassador in Holland.

² Prince Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, who married Princess Augusta, George III's sister, in January 1764.

³ Lady Susan O'Brien.

even worse in Westphalia than in any other part of Germany. The post houses, which are the only Inns on the road (except those in the great towns), every where afford an uniform picture of nastiness and poverty. One chamber serves for all the branches of the Family; Men, women, children, Horses, Cows, Goats, sheep, &c., &c., are all huddled together in the same sty. From the time I left Amsterdam till I arrived at Berlin, I slept constantly in my coach; and, except at Brunswick, never once went to bed.

The King of Prussia being at Potsdam, whilst I was at Berlin, I had not an opportunity of paying my Court to his Majesty. It is amazing how his dominions are depopulated. His capital, which is certainly one of the finest cities in Europe, contains scarcely any thing but Soldiers. I am sure it is capable of holding at least ten times the Number of its present Inhabitants. The Count Finckenstein, His Minister for foreign affairs, distinguished me by every possible Civility, and on all occasions spoke of England in the most obliging terms.

The Great Chancellor of Russia, now on his return home, was at Berlin. I seized that occasion of being known to him, and flatter myself he has as yet no unfavorable opinion of me.

He is a man of great politeness and has much the air of a Man of high rank. His lady is unaffected, frank, and agreeable, and Madame de Strogonow his daughter, tho but two and twenty, beautiful as an Angel. Then Judge how charming she will be a dozen year hence.

I am detained here two or three days in order to have my Carriage repaired, which, from the length of the Journey and the Intolerableness of the roads, was almost shattered to pieces. It is impossible to describe to you, my dear Lord, the Inconvenience, the expence, and Impositions I have undergone in this expedition. Could I have foreseen the tenth part of what I have suffered in those respects, I do assure you, that late and dangerous as the Season was, I shou'd have ventured on the Sea Voyage to St Petersburg preferably to the Land Journey. As I was obliged to shew my pass at the gates of every town in the King of Prussia's Dominions I past thro, It was impossible to travel, as I wished to be, incognito. To give you one instance of imposition for all: I was charged at Magdebourg two Ducats for a Pot of coffee and some bread and butter. I remonstrated loudly against such treatment, and observed to the landlord that I was only an Envoy, and not an Ambassador. "Oh Sir" (says the rascal, with a most impudent smile and a low bow), "we never make any difference." Ab uno disce omnes.

When I complained to the Magistrate on those occasions the redress was so trifling, and the delay and trouble so great, that I at last found the wisest way was to acquiesce in silence.

I intend setting out for St Petersburg tomorrow or next day, but as there is as yet no sledge-way, the late rains having melted away the snow, I fear it will be at least three weeks before I can flatter myself with hopes of arriving there. I am as yet but very little more than half way from Amsterdam, and from this place to that of my destination there are at least eight hundred English Miles before me.

I am beyond measure impatient to have some news of my Dear Ste. If he wont let me have the pleasure of hearing from him, I beg you to tell me where he is, what he is doing, or what does he intend doing, if *he knows himself*. Charles, I hope, will write to me sometimes. Does Lady Holland go to France this Carnival? Tell her how much I am her's. Yours, My Dearest Lord, I shall always be with unalterable affection,

G. M.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

[Paris.] Sunday. 3rd [February 1764].

MY DEAR LORD.

I hope I need not apologise to you for not having wrote to you in so long a time. If I could have amused you I should look for an apology in vain; but I'm persuaded that you interest yourself very little about what is doing here, and of Stee I have nothing to acquaint you with but what I hope you know, that he is very well; and that he will remain so, I hope for my sake as well as your own. He loses nothing upon acquaintance, I assure you. I propose to sett out for England (at least it is so now in the Orders that are come out) the latter end of next week. I shall therefore be here long enough to execute any possible Commands of y^{rs} or Lady Holland's that I shall be honoured with before. I beg I may hear from you. A parcell of Ribbons was sent some time ago; I hope they are received. The Color was an Objection to me, as my Commission was for white Ribbon, but Stee reproved me, and said that they were white, at least of a french white, and that shewed I knew nothing of the matter. If they are not yellow enough, the smoke of London must, if they are arrived, have made them by this time of that white w^{ch} they should be of. There is another parcel which I have had in my room ever since

Mr. Nicol left Paris. I shall bring it down with me to Calais, but I know not what more to do with it. It will certainly be taken. I shall leave it with Cloaths of mine that I intend to see again by some means or other.

I hope March and I shall not be snubbed for this truantism. However le Coup en est fait. I cannot help it now. I hope you are not angry with me; I shall bear the displeasure of others très philosophiquement.

Be so good as to lett your picture be ready for me against my return.

I beg my best Respects to Lady Holland. Stee was well at 2 this morning, but since that Il repose.

I am, my dear Lord,

Very truly and affectly yours,

G. S.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

[Paris.] Wenesday night. 13 [February 1765].

MY DEAR LORD.

If my peace with you depends upon my behavior on my return, and that behavior is to come and eat at your House, I shall soon eat myself into a reconciliation and atone for my not writing; and it is the most French breeding of any to come into any House that is once open to you. Stee assures me that it is meant that I should dine when and as often as I please. I dont know what they think here, but as it appears to me, both he and I seem the two principal *Lèche frites*¹ of Paris. Ld March has also adopted the system entirely as to suppers, for dine he won't. May I flatter myself that I have not been wanted; to tell you the Truth I expect but a cool reception from either the Doctor or his proposter. The numbers in regard to the Taxing America seem to justify that opinion, but about the warrants, they came a little nearer there, did not they? Well It is over now; I must drink as I have brewed. I only hope that if Lord March is forgiven, as I take it for granted he will, that I shall be forgiven too. But in the rebellion of 1715, I have heard that when Ld Nithisdale's steward could not prevail on his Lordship not to go into the Rebellion, he followed his fortunes; but with this exception, that he was hanged and my Lord was saved.

¹ "Guerchy does not allow such an expression as *lèche-frite* in the sense you use it: he says it is a sop in the pan" (Holland to G. Selwyn, March 12, 1765; printed in Jesse's *Selwyn and his Contemporaries*).

I shall bring you over your cane, and M^e. Dulac shall know the preference you give her; but she is a talkative Bitch that putts me out of all patience.

The Ribbons ought to be now in London; I cannot immediately call to mind who was to deliver them. The other parcell I shall leave at Calais till further directions. You say you hope Ld March won't change his mind again. Our Departure is now fixed for Sunday sevensnight, the 24th, so the 1st or second of March I may hope to kiss your Hands. Your son is very well, and indeed it is requisite to be so, if you are determined, as he seems to be, to lose no one diversion of the Carneval. I can follow him in his pleasures, but at a great distance. I have in a great measure changed the scene of my sleeping, but the Quantum is the same. My Hours are a little better, and that is all I can say for myself.

Williams has left off writing to me, but why I cannot tell.

My dear Lord. Adieu. There is, you see, time to scratch out a few lines more for me, if you please, before I leave Paris, if you or Lady Holland have any more Commands.

I shall lett good March know what you say about him. I dont know a better quickner, for I'm sure he would not displease the King, but has imagined an absence at this time very immaterial. As to my Gloucester friends, I'm afraid of a dismal acc^t there, as it was certainly to the parliament of England and not that of Paris that they sent me.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Paris. Wenesday. 20th [March 1765].

MY DEAR LORD.

I flatter myself I can speak with more certainty now than ever of my Leaving Paris. We have agreed to lie at Senlis on Saturday night, and Stee has been so good as to say he will accompany us so far on our Road to England. Lady Holland's Commission ab^t the Comédie française, I have thought best to refer to Mr. Garrick, because he lives a good deal with the actors, and if there is any difficulty about getting a good Box, they are at his Request most likely and able to guarantee it.¹ I'm told the best boxes

¹ "I am to desire you, in Lady Holland's, Lady Louisa Conolly, and Lady Sarah Bunbury's names, to take them a box above stairs at the French comedy, for two months from Easter" (Holland to G. Selwyn. March 12, 1765).

are already taken for the year. But of this I shall acquaint you further when I've seen Mr. Garrick. Your stick I hope will be delivered safely to you by a very worthy gentleman, Mr. Showvesoff, of whom I need at present say no more. Your Letter gave me great pleasure, because it seemed to be wrote in spirits, and as if you would be glad to see me. If you shall, I will answer for a reciprocity. That term putts me in mind of what you tell me of that Rascal Dupré, whom I shall forbid ever to appear at my door, and whose iniquity I might have defeated if I had been in England and acquainted of it.¹ All I can do is to sett his conduct in the light it should be placed in to Ld Downe and Ld Aber.,² who I hope for their own sakes will not countenance him. Ld Aber.'s story has certainly been told here much to his disadvantage; I should think upon the most candid representation of it, he cannot appear well. I love Aber. much and allways did, but I do not undertake to justify my friends' extravagancies. I will prevent them, if I can; I will prevent the ill consequences of them if I can; but I will not defend them themselves. Now for your Criticism. You say that Guerchy maintains the word *Lèche frite* to be a sop in the pan. Upon what authority? I should be tempted to tell him, as is said of Diderot, "*il n'est rien, pas même académicien.*" *Lèche frite* is a dripping pan and nothing else properly; un *roti de lèche frite* is the sop. In the style bas, comique, etnéologique, it is used as *ecornifleur*, *effleureur de Cuisine*, what we call in English with equal elegance, *Trencher Fly*; but never used in good company. I mentioned it as a low word to express a low thing. But do not defend it; it has no authority belonging to it, but a vulgar one. There is only this to be said, that when Mrs. Pointz uses a vulgar phrase, she thinks it an elegance. When you know a phrase or a word to be low or obsolete, and use it knowingly and from quaintness, it has not the same effect.

Adieu, my dear Lord. I flatter myself that the abuse which I hear is thrown upon March and me for our absence has had no effect on our going. If it has not, it will roll oer my grotto, and but sooth my sleep. By the way, why do you talk of my sleeping in France? I sleep and I do not, *c'est suivant*. What shall

¹ "Dupré, a French master that the late Lord Downe and you used to talk much of, has joined with De Verger in swearing to an accusation of Guerchy for offering them money to assassinate D'Eon. The grand jury of London found the bill. Nobody believes it, and I am afraid they will not go on: if they do, it must end in their confusion. What your friend Dupré's motive is, I do not hear guessed" (Holland to G. Selwyn. March 12, 1765).

² Lord Abergavenny.

I do wth Lady Holland's parcell? I beleive I shall leave it in the Hands of M^{me}. du Favre at Calais till further orders. I hope the Ribbands are come safe; white they were, it seems, never intended to be. I shall leave the champ libre for Charles at M^e. C., but I would not have him promise himself great success. I dont think the English are in bonne odeur there, I dont know for why. I take her to be something of the she dog. I believe even March cannot boast of much success there.

My best Respects to Lady Holland; many kind compliments to Charles and poor Lord Digby, if you see him.

HON. C. J. FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

Paris. April y^e 29th. [1765.]
half an hour after nine.

DEAR FATHER.

You are in great measure obliged to M^{me}. Geoffrin for this letter. My Mother, Ly Louisa, Ly Sarah, and my Brother sup with her, et me voila tout seul. I depended upon supping at Madame de la Marche's, but she (I find) is gone out of town. I have not seen M^{me} de Coaslin since I have been here; she was not at home when I called upon her last night, mais tout ira bien, au moins Je ne m'en defie nullement. My Brother and I arrived here Saturday night; the rest of the Company Sunday about two o'clock. M^{me}. de Beaune saw Ly Sarah last night, and says, "Je sais ce que c'est que du Rouge, et si elle n'en porte pas, Je n'ai jamais vu du Rouge." I saw Mons^r. de Mortfontaine to day, who was very civil to me, and renewed his invitation to la Rochelle. Je lui dis que j'en profiterai avec plaisir. Nous parlâmes du procès de Milord Biron, de l'homicide, du meurtre, du Privilege de Pairie, &c. I understand from him that he goes to La Rochelle in about a fortnight, and does not return till January. What time then would you advise me to go there? For go there I must. Do not you think M^{me}. Geoffrin a very silly woman not to cultivate more so agreeable an acquaintance as I am. What I am glad of is, that my Mother is a little angry at it. I think I might desire Ly Hervey to write a letter to her in commendation of me, in answer to that she received from her about Mr. Selwyn. Adieu, my dear Father, and believe me to be your most dutiful and affectionate son,

C. J. Fox.

I shall take from my Mother all the money I want, except what I give to Madame de Coaslin.

LORD DIGBY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Monday. May 20th, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I write, as you desired me, to tell you all the News I have heard. Lord Albemarle was first sent by the Duke of C. to Mr. Pitt, who was very civil to him, but when He begun upon Business said He must see His Royal Highness himself, and would not talk to any one from him.¹ So the Duke and Lord Temple went to Hayes, and were there till late yesterday evening. Mr. Pitt very ill, but gave his answer that He would not take any Share in the Administration or meddle with publick affairs. So the Duke came back much displeased, and I hear Lord Temple is confoundedly out of humour, and says he goes to Stowe in a day or two. The King, I understand, told the present Ministers yesterday morning that He should dismiss them. The D. of Bedford was with His Majesty a great while, complained of Ill usage, and told the King he had broke his word with him, for that he never would have come into office if His Majesty had not promised that Lord Bute should not meddle with his affairs: that he knew he had advised several things, and had not taken notice of it, and that now His Majesty was by his advice agoing to change an Administration who had carried his affairs very well thro the Sessions, and would throw the whole Country into very great Confusion. The King was civil, but much embarrassed. This came from the Bedfordians.

I hear the Duke of Newcastle says that neither He nor any of His have been spoke to upon this occasion.

There was a very great mob about Bedford House last night, and some Coach and Chariot Glasses were broke going to and fro.²

Since I wrote the above Lord Ilchester is come from the House of Lords, and there He heard that Mr. Pitt insisted upon Pratt's being made a Peer,

¹ Infuriated at the treacherous conduct of the Government in connection with the recent Regency Act, George decided upon a further attempt to change his Ministers. He called in his uncle to help him, and instructed him, probably by Bute's advice, to approach Pitt and Temple. The latter was, however, on the eve of a reconciliation with his brother, George Grenville, and refused to come in. The negotiations therefore failed on this point.

² Bedford's opposition to a Bill designed to assist the silk industry, which had become depressed by foreign competition, brought down the wrath of the weavers upon his head. During the riots which took place, he was himself assaulted; and Bedford House was saved from the fury of the mob only by the intervention of the military.

Conway's being re-instated, and all the Resolutions relative to general warrants to be reversed, and Lord Bute banished the Kingdom.

Lord Ilchester bids me tell you that there was a committee about the Mobs, and upon their being asked who gave them an answer, they said Lord Northumberland, Ld Denbigh, and me. The two first denied it, and Lord Ilchester assured them that I had not spoke to any of them. The Duke of Bedford was advised not to go to the House of Lords, and has Intelligence that His House is to be attacked again to night.

The Sheriffs of London came to the House of Lords, to let them know that they had received Intelligence that a great many weavers were coming from Norwich, Manchester, and other trading Towns, to join those in London. The watermen are very much disposed to rise, but they have hitherto been prevented.

I have sent Ld Ilchester's Notes, but He bids me tell you that he did not begin to take them till after Ld Chancellor had spoke, as He did not expect a Debate.

Adieu,

Y^{rs} most affect^{ly},

D.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Tuesday night. 9 o'clock. [May 21, 1765.]

I was not in the wrong, my dear Lord, on Sunday, when I told you that the reported disposition of places was premature; and I guessed as little wrong, when I doubted the accession of Mr. Pitt. He has refused almost *charte blanche*.

The four Ministers¹ were seperately with the King that day, as you know. They told him their resolution to adhere to one another, and that they would resign on tuesday (to day), if not dismissed sooner. This resolution however they changed. George Grenville offended him much. The King ordered him to carry a message to the House to adjourn. He replied, "S^r, woud you have me cut my own throat?" "Who must carry the message then?" "My Successor." They determined even to oppose the adjournment; which intention being known, the House is only adjourned from day to day.

The Sheriffs of London yesterday acquainted the Lords with intelligence they had got, that the Weavers were to rise at five this morning, on which

¹ Bedford, Grenville, Sandwich, and Halifax.

Ld Halifax wrote to the King to advise a commission for Lord Granby, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Waldegrave, to suppress the Riot. Upon this, his Majesty resolved to name the Duke of Cumberland Captain-General, and it was even said in the House of Commons to day that it was so done. But your Brother, whom I have left this minute, tells me it was not; and I know the Duke said he would stop it if he could. Lord Ilchester adds, that just as he came from court the Duke of Gloucester said it was all patched up again for a time; and that he heard the Duke of Bedford say the same thing a minute afterwards, but adding, "there is one point given us to consider of"; which your Brother thinks is the affair of Captain-General.

There has not been the appearance of a Riot to day. The two Secretaries dropped strong insinuations in the House of Lords yesterday that Ld Bute had fomented the mob, which Ld Pomfret took up warmly; and indeed the Ministerial people have not been sparing of that language.

Among these many strange events, nothing strikes more than an Interview at Lord Temple's this morning between Him and his Brother George; but as yet I know nothing of the purport or result.

Good night, my dear Lord. I hope to go in a day or two to my Kingsgate, and hope still more fervently that this may be the last week of politics in which I am ever engaged. The Ministers cannot be more overjoyed at recovering their power, than I shall be to recover my Liberty.

Y^{rs} most sincerely,
H. WALPOLE.

DUKE OF RICHMOND TO LORD HOLLAND.

Whitehall. Thursday 23d of May, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

You have so many friends so much better informed than I am, that I suppose any account I could send you would be *patch*. And besides, the transactions are so sudden and so extraordinary, that it would take up much time to give you a detail of them. But as to day has produced what concerns you so nearly, I cannot help telling you (with a 100 others I suppose) that you and Mr. Mackenzie are turned out.¹

¹ Overtures to Pitt having failed, the King was forced to continue the Ministry on their own terms. These were, that George should give an undertaking never to consult Bute, should dismiss the latter's brother, Mr. Mackenzie, from the office of Privy Seal of Scotland, and should remove Lord Holland from the Paymastership.

This came out to day at court, and it seems you two only are to suffer for being Lord Bute's friends. I asked if there was no *douceur* or if the manner of doing it was known, and I was told that you was dismissed *tout court* and in a Hostile way. But when you hear of it in an authentic manner you will be the best Judge of that.

I must own I cannot refrain from cursing the ingratitude I see such proofs of. And I think you must be sensible of it, when the letter of office from the Secretary of State will come to you from your Dear friend Lord Sandwich, and dated from the pay office!¹

I hear it is reported you left your resignation with the King; and had assurances that the loss of your place should be made up to you. If this is so, I do suppose that you expected that kind of treatment from your foes, but I do not believe you expected this treatment from your friends.

If I am not impertinent I do wish you would let me know what you feel about this, I mean if you are turned out, as it is said you are; for indeed I am most sincerely your friend, and I do assure you I'll be a silent one, whenever you desire me to be so, about any thing you trust me with.

You will certainly also have heard that Lord Lorn is to have Mr. Mackenzie's place, and Rigby said at the opera to night that Charles Townshend is to kiss hands as Pay master to morrow. But there is a Report that James Grenville is to be Pay master.²

You must also have heard that George Grenville is reconciled with Lord Temple and Pitt, and Lord Temple said to day that he was a friend to the Present Administration. So that at present it seems to be a very strong one indeed, Advised to the King by the Duke, as his friends did not chuse to undertake it when Pitt had refused, supported by Pitt and Lord Temple, with Power enough to turn out Lord Bute's brother and you. But still I cannot think the Grenvilles will, when united, suffer any body long to remain in any degree of Power with them.

I dont know if any of your friends have told you that Ld Halifax sent a note to the King on Monday, saying His M. will be pleased to determine if it may not be proper to appoint Ld Granby Commander-in-chief on this occasion, who from His popularity may be more proper than another and save the lives of these deluded people.

I will not swear for the words, but it was nearly so. In consequence of

¹ Lord Sandwich, to his credit, refused to write the letter.

² Charles Townshend succeeded Lord Holland.

this the K. offer'd the command to the Duke, who did not think the occasion of consequence enough. And yesterday I hear that one of the terms were that Lord Granby should be Commander-in-Chief, but this offended very much and was given up.

Was I to go on telling you all the events of five days past, I should never have done, and tis near $\frac{1}{2}$ past eleven, so I must finish my letter with the assurances of the sincerest esteem and friendship,

Ever yours,
RICHMOND &c.

Ld Weymouth goes to Ireland as tis said, and Ld Northumberland to Sion. Ld Bute is gone to Luton.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

[May 28, 1765.]¹

MY DEAR LORD.

If I was to write, as you bid me, all I can think of, that is, all I know of the late Transactions, your curiosity, however great it may be, would be wearied before I could reduce it to any tolerable compass, even tho I should methodize it like a Divine under the several heads of blunders, folly, treachery, insolence, &c. Sooner or later I will give you the whole detail. At present, I will chiefly confine myself to satisfying your questions, for you know I never attempt to accompt for more than I understand, nor to assert more than I really know. I have learnt a great deal of these histories, but there are material points which I have not yet been able to make out.

Lord Halifax and Lord Sandwich may be as guilty to you as the rest of the crew, but I cannot say that I have heard them particularly named. At Bedford House their violence against you is boasted of, and they have even been so brutal as to say it would kill you, tho I thought they knew your spirit a little better. George Grenville's share in it you cannot doubt, from his own malice to you, and from the new fuel which his Brother Temple has supplied. I was told at Richmond House that the Junto had proposed to

¹ No date is attached to this letter, but from the Duke of Ancaster's appointment and other facts referred to in the contents it may be assumed to be May 28. The episode related in the last paragraph, under date "Friday four o'clock," appears from *Walpole's Memoirs* (ii, 185) to have taken place about the middle of June. Walpole's chronology is here incorrect. The interview took place on May 29 (see *Memoirs of Duke of Grafton*, ed. Anson, pp. 50-1).

dismiss you in some very ignominious manner; what that was to have been, I have not heard, nor whether it went farther than the first ill disposition. I cannot mention this dirty spite, without doing justice to the Duke of Richmond, who resents the treatment of you in the warmest, most open, and most friendly manner. Lord Bute, you know, I am not acquainted with; but by what I see in his friends, he is thoroughly enraged. The usage of Mr. McKinsy is aggravated by his having given up a place for life, on the King's promise that he should keep the Privy Seal for his Majesty's life. Ld Frederic Campbell's acceptance of it augments the injury; for Ld Bute had given him a place for life of 700£ a yr, and made two bitter enemies by it.

The Duke is taxed by Ld Temple with insincerity in the negotiation. The Latter pretends that while it was depending, His R.H. advised the King to retake his old Ministers. But it should be remembered that in the midst of the Treaty, the reconciliation of Ld T. and G. Grenville happened, which seems to throw the charge of insincerity upon that quarter.

As to the Duke of Newcastle, he has been *Semper Idem*, busy and inconclusive, giving councils and impediments, eager and timid. Woud not accept himself; yet recommended those faggots Ld Grantham and Ld Hardwicke for Secretaries of state, as if Himself was in the plenitude of power.

You call the Opposition, the late Opposition, very apropos, for they declare they lay down their arms, and are attached to the King. A few weeks, I think, will make them go farther, and perceive there are more detestable men than Lord Bute.

I will now answer you upon two Heads more, as if you had questioned me upon them.

The King feels the outrage offered to him, with due resentment. Their behaviour to him has exceeded all bounds. Grenville had the insolence to tell him he did not know what business the Duke of Cumberland had so often at Court. The Duke of Bedford went farther, and after telling him that Ld Bute had long been his bitter Enemy and broke his word with him, added, that he was sorry to be forced to tax his Majesty with a like breach of promise. This Lady Waldegrave boasted of to Lady Mary Coke, and Rigby to Hamilton.

The other point is Mr. Pitt—never a very explicable subject, now dark indeed. Yet I think thus much is probable; that tho he did not wish the reconciliation of his Brothers-in-law, he is ready to profit of it. In other words, the World believes that Grenville has promised Ld Temple to get rid

of the Duke of Bedford as soon as he can, possibly by fair means: that is, by persuading his Grace to retire, upon condition his friends keep their places. They perhaps may accord to this, but how the Duchess will like to quit Victory and Empire for Woburn and Bath, is another question. Lord Lyttelton has dropped this inadvertently, and Ld Temple told Ld Geo. Sackville he never would come in with the present Ministers, but should have no objection to an Administration formed from different parties; meaning, I suppose, to break all parties, to govern all more easily. But that Idea is seen through, and will not be so practicable as they think for, tho it may to some degree.

Wednesday night.

I had writ thus far, when I hear that the King has to-day declared the Duke of Ancaster Master of the Horse to the Queen. The Bedfords had wanted it, first for Lord Waldegrave, then for Ld Suffolk. I like this Spirit, I only fear they should drive again too fast before they are ready. A little Patience and a good deal of management, good management, would make the thing very easy. When I say good management, you will not wonder that I wish you nearer than Kingsgate. I do not believe the affront to Ld Bute has answered in the article of popularity, as they flattered themselves. The people are as hostile as ever to the Duke of Bedford; but what will surprize you, the Tories lean more to George Grenville than to Lord Bute. On the other hand, one of the most violent against him, the Duke of Portland, is extremely softened. The Dukes of Richmond and Manchester offered themselves to the Duke of Cumberland. In short, if properly conducted, the Machine might soon be put in motion again. There never was a fairer opportunity for a Man of parts.

The Ministers, as you may imagine, flew to Lord Temple with open arms. Rigby told Hamilton that both Bedford and Marlborough had offered him their places; but he has not even accepted a dinner. Both Secretaries invited him for the Birthday. He said he believed He should be out of town; if not, should dine with his Brother,—not with James, who is gone out of Town, Sulky. Ld Temple carries George to Hayes tomorrow for the first time, a *gouty* fever having prevented it hitherto.¹ The Reconciliation was

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Grenville, Lord Temple, and James Grenville dined with Pitt at Hayes on May 30 (*Grenville Corres.* iii 191).

negotiated by Williams, and concluded by Lord Bristol and Augustus Hervey.

Lord Townshend who bragged of prevailing on Charles, is now I hear a little out of humour, having wanted the Government of Ireland. The Irish in London are furious against the Governor that is given to them.

I forgot to tell you (and you will not mind my rambling, as this is rather a newspaper than a letter), that Lord G. Sackville thinks from some obscure expressions of Lord Temple, that Pitt would take a Peerage and leave the House of Commons to Geo. Grenville. Were it more known that the King offered Pitt to regulate general warrants as far as was consistent with his honour, to reinstate the dismissed officers, to alleviate the Cyder-tax, and to strengthen alliances against the House of Bourbon, that, as the Duke of Cumberland made Lord Temple own, they had had *Charte blanche des demandes*, and that still they were not to be satisfied, I should not think it would be their popularity that would entitle one Family to give law to all the world.

Friday. four o'clock.

I wish you joy of Ch. Townshend's kindness to Mr. Hamilton. Lord Ilchester tells me, as I foresaw, that the Duchess and Rigby are against the Duke's retiring *now*.

Charles Fitzroy, by the Duke of Grafton's desire, has been at Hayes, and staid 3 hours and half. At the conclusion he said, "Well! Sir, then what I am to collect from all you have said, is that you are resolved to treat no more?" "*Resolved!* Mr. Fitzroy! That is a strong word"; & then, after a pause, continued, "Mr. Pitt's determinations are fixed; all negotiation is at an end." Perhaps you are not great or little man enough to see the difference between *Resolved* and *determined*. I pity you; and wish you good-night.

LORD DIGBY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Dover Street. Friday. 31st May, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I have wrote to you so constantly that I have but little left to add by this opportunity. Mr. Walpole told me he had wrote you a long Letter, which I imagine will be very entertaining. Lord Temple, Mr. Grenville, and all the rest of that Family dined at Hayes yesterday. They certainly did no Honour

to your understanding if they imagined you was in this Plot, but I can't persuade myself they did believe it; but some of the most violent had a mind to give you this stroke, and as soon as they had done it, they must find reasons to justify it.

I have seen Lord Hillsborough, and told him what you said, but He does not approve of y^r making any sort of apology to Mr. Grenville. He says He is strongly against your saying anything to the people who have used you so ill; but if you think otherwise and write him a short letter, he will shew it, for there is too much in that he has to be put into George Grenville's Hands. However He will write to you himself upon this subject, after He has talked with Lord Ilchester. I told him I thought, as he was of so different an opinion from you, he might delay it till he heard again.

I have not seen Charles Townshend or Sandwich since I saw you, or else I would have spoke to them as you desired.

I was very glad to hear from Lord Ilchester this morning that you was to have a civil Message from the King, which you will receive at the same time you do this.

The making the Duke of Ancaster Master of the Horse, and Ld Drogheda upon the Irish Staff, are not acts of this Administration.

I hear some of the most violent in the late Opposition are much softened in their Language with regard to Lord Bute.

It is said, that upon Mr. Grenville's speaking to the D. of Grafton, and saying that he hoped now all Parties were subsided and Lord Bute out of the Question they should have His Grace's support, he replied, that He did not know what He meant, but that He thought any Minister in the King's Service that set himself up to oppose His Majesty's Inclinations deserved to be hanged. I hear the Butes are very angry at Ld Lorne, His Dutchess, and Lord Frederick Campbell, and say that Lord Bute made himself many great enemies in Scotland by what He did for Lord Fred^k Campbell, to oblige them.¹

Willy² and George Selwyn propose coming to you the 5th of June, and I fancy you will be much entertained with him, tho' I do not know anything to write of his saying now.

I have heard that they say you and Lord Bute contrived the Regency Bill, and gave it to the King, and that when he pulled the Heads of it out of His pocket, His Ministers were surprised and very much displeased.

¹ Lord Lorne refused the Scotch Privy Seal, which was given to Lord Frederick.

² The Rev. William Digby, his brother.

I hear the Irish are violent against their new Lord Lieutenant,¹ and It seems to be generally supposed that Lord Kildare will go into violent Opposition. In that Case S^r Charles Bunbury's situation will be an odd one, as It is looked upon as settled that He is to be Ld Weymouth's Secretary. They say He has had all his Aides de Camps except one named for him by Bedford House, and that The Duke of B. is to govern and dispose of everything in Ireland thro this new Ld L^t.

I should suppose, as you do, that they would not suffer Lord Egmont to stay, but without they make a point of it, it may not be so easy to remove him. I shall dislike of all things to go near any of these people, but I will do whatever you think most adviseable with regard to Willy's promise of the Canonry of XtChurch and Mr. Blythe's Affair, which I spoke to you of before all this strange Jumble, which has ended so disagreeably for us, and I think very little to the Credit of any of the persons concerned on any side.

They say the Duke of Bedford intends to resign within this Half year, and retire to Woburn and Bath, but I can't think a Scene of Retirement would suit the old witch of Bloomsbury, a new title the mob have given to her Grace. She will hardly be easy, without having her share in all the Cabals and Intrigues that may be formed about the Court.

It was remarked the King spoke very graciously to Mr. Mackenzie since He has been out.

The saving him we heard was the point the King struggled the most upon, and told his Ministers that, if thro the exigency of his affairs they forced him to break his Royal word, they must take it upon themselves, for he had absolutely promised Mr. Mackenzie that He never would remove him upon any account.

Since I wrote this far I have been at Lord Bateman's to dinner, and he told us a piece of news I don't believe, which is that they had declared for the Duke of Bedford against Lord Bute.

As I am sure you will have enough to read by this Messenger, so I will not try to write any more.

Adieu.

Y^{rs} most sincerely and most affect^{ly},

DIGBY.

P.S. You will hear from Ld Ilchester of C^s Townshend's great Civility to you and all y^r Friends.

¹ Lord Weymouth. He never actually reached the country.

DUKE OF RICHMOND TO LORD HOLLAND.

Whitehall. June 8th, 1765.
Saturday.

MY DEAR LORD.

When I told you that Lord Waldegrave had been mention'd by Lord Halifax to be join'd with Lord Granby, and did not say that I was too, it was because I supposed Lord Waldegrave had made some particular offer of that sort, and that I had not. But I find that Lord Halifax said we had both offer'd our services on this occasion. Now all that I knew of it was in the Committee Room of the H. of Lords; Ld Waldegrave said it was odd to lett so many Reg^{ts} act without a General officer to command them, and pointed to me, saying, there's the D. of R., who is on the Staff, why dont you order him to command them? I then said I should be ready to do what ever I was order'd, and made not the least doubt of quelling the riots, tho' it was a disagreeable service. Ld Halifax then asked some questions about which was Eldest of us two. But not a word was said of Lord Granby, or had I ever an idea of a commander in chief being appointed for that purpose.

I have not yet spoke to Rigby, and will not about you, unless you desire it again. But before you desired me, I have said to every body, I knew you had no hand in the late transactions.

You bid me tell you if I know how Lord Mansfield looks, for you suppose he says nothing. And you have supposed very right, for I have heard no body say that they knew, or that any body did what he thought. But 'tis said he looks very much frighten'd and in amasement, which I can easily believe.

You also bid me make you understand the D. of Cumberland and the late opposition. This I would easily do, if you stated what you do not understand. In General, I take the Duke's concerns to have been this. The King sent to him and told him he desir'd he would settle a new administration: And I suppose Pitt was thought a necessary part. The Duke therefore went to Hayes, but found Pitt would not undertake, tho' he promised his support and advised the Duke to undertake with his friends. This was then tried, but I suppose that as Pitt doubted about Ld Bute, which prevented his coming in, so the opposition doubted Pitt's sincerity in supporting, and made them not care to engage. When this was the case, the Duke had nothing left

but to advise the King to return to his old Ministers, since no others would serve him.

I believe the Duke was much pleased with the confidence the King placed in him. He worked like a Horse to settle things; & since it is over often sees the King. Now he is gone to Windsor, and I believe is at this moment as fond of his nephew almost as you can be of your Children. At least I am sure he has as many prejudices in His favor.

As to the D. of Newcastle and his friends, I believe the Hungry ones, as of all parties, want places any how. But others are not pleased with Pitt. Still I think they will support him preferably to any other, because they once fancied he supported them.

Many of the party are now quite Pitt's men; not because they think he has the worst of the lay.

Ld Ophaly told me that Lady Albemarle told him, that when the Secretaries of State receiv'd the King's orders to write to you, Lord Sandwich desired he might be excused from the Regard he had for you: to which the King replied, "Nay I have no quarrel with Lord Holland; you have turned him out among you, and you may settle that as you please."

I also hear that the King says Ld Sandwich has been less affronting to him than any of the others. But as to them, I know for certain that he continues very angry still, and that the Queen is so too. And you & I know, Lord Holland, that wives have influence.

The news of your good health gives me real joy to hear, much more so even than your ill Treatment gives me vexation, and that is not a little neither.

I wish I could spare time to go to see you, but I have so little to spare before I go to France,¹ that Goodwood must have at least the first part of it. If I possibly can, I will call on you in my way to France the end of July.

Sr Robert Rich does not intend to dye. The D. of Devonshire is to go to Court, the K. having said he wished to see him there.

I am sorry Bunbury goes to Ireland, for I love to see Brothers go together, and he must disagree with Lord Kildare.

Adieu, I am ever yours most affectionately,

RICHMOND &c.

The *Lovely*² is better of her indigestion, but still weak.

¹ Richmond was appointed to succeed Lord Hertford as Envoy in Paris.

² The Duchess of Richmond.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

[June 13, 1765.]

MY DEAR LORD.

I arrived at the Horse Guards last night exactly at eight o'clock; by which I find that, allowing an Hour for dinner and half an Hour extraordinary when you lend your Chaise to a Lady, the Journey from Kingsgate here is exactly ten Hours. I saw Lord Digby at White's immediately after, and delivered him your Letter, and Mr. Digby's. Lord Digby will convey that for Mr. Walpole himself; he goes into that neighbourhood tomorrow. Mr. Powell has also had to day his, upon his arrival in Town. I found the Politicians much in motion. The D. of Bridgwater in particular was sure, as he expressed [it], that something was in the wind. The D. of B. had a long audience of his M., as they say, to obtain an explanation. Ch^s Towns^d says he came out of the Closet much flustered. Ch^s is sate out to Day for Adderbury. Lord North^d was very Busy ab^t the D. yesterday at Ascot, who did not seem much, as they tell me, to encourage a political Conference with him. The Dutchess was rather more spoke to at Court to day than for some time past. In short, I find we are not to be settled without another Bustle. Mr. G. goes out of Town to-morrow to the cher frère, and we settled our affair to day together very amicably. There were very civil things said to me of you. He had been told by some friend of yours what was your Language upon the late transactions, as far as they have personally concerned you: to which he protested he gave intire credit. I know your Question then: I cannot answer it, the complaint vient de plus loin. Lord Sandys' son is still dying. Mr. Thynne has sold his estate for 40,000; to go to the Creditors, but when God knows. W^s are out of all hopes. They hear of no measures at all in relation to the supplies. I asked W^{ms} ¹ if he had had the least stand in the Reconciliation. He positively denies it, but thinks his female friends might possibly have talked to the Earl sometimes upon that subject. But he himself never once. I dine with Ellis at Twicknam on Saturday to meet all the Showalloffs. I propose to go afterwards and lie at Horry's. I find there are those who think Ch^s Behavior to you political. I dont like to hear people take away the merit of good natured actions, but in whatever light this can be seen, it cannot be a disadvantageous one to him.

¹ Gilly Williams.

Letters come continually to White's for the Ld Lieutenant's Brother, with Irish post marks. I could not resist last night the temptation of writing on the back of one of them, *Honor and Secrecy may be depended upon*. I beg my best Compliments to Mr. Digby, and some to the great architect. The D. of Devon. was yesterday at Court, attended by all that bear the name of Cavendish, except the admiral, who is too much taken upon with his own peaces to think of any other.

Adieu, my dear Lord. I hope the Health and Spirits in which I left you will Continue till October improving. When you have a moment so idle as to write a line, you will add, by sending one to me, to many obligations. I shall continue to Scribble as I have to night if I can find the least matter, and if it bring neither intelligence or amusement, it is no matter.

Thursday night.

LORD BATEMAN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Saturday. June 22^d, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

Every Bodie's curiosity has been great to-day, but as yet without any satisfaction. Mr. Pitt was three hours with the King again this morning, but not the least has transpired. The King went directly after the conference to Richmond, where the Duke of Cumberland is to be to night.¹ I shall go to the opera to night. If any more is known I will let you know; every one will have their surmises, and rather conclude, as nothing is known, that nothing has been agreed to by Mr. Pitt. I believe, at the first meeting, the King and Mr. Pitt differed very much about Foreign Affairs, the King all Austrian, Mr. Pitt quite Prussian, and that the Duke of C. was less Prussian than the King. Some say the King will be obliged to send for you at last; others that you have already been sent to. My own opinion is that Mr. Pitt does not and will not at present come into the King's Terms. Lord Temple is out of town, which he would not be if things were very near a crisis.

I will keep my Letter open But in case I hear any thing to acquaint you, for even at Kingsgate you must have some curiosity. I must sit down to dinner; not to such a good Turbot as from Broadstairs, but I hope to do so

¹ Exulting in their strength, the Ministry had sought to inflict further indignities on the King, with the result that he again turned to Pitt. The latter was ready to come in, but again Temple refused. Cumberland was obliged therefore to have recourse to the Whig families, who took office under the leadership of Lord Rockingham on July 16.

with you some time or other again, and I engage to Lady Holland not to bring any acquaintance to her from Margate.

The King of Prussia, who by the last accounts has been very dangerously ill, has, [it] is said, made a Treaty with France and Spain.

By the account I hear of poor Lady Hillsborough, I am afraid she is in a very desperate way. She goes on Tuesday to Bristol. She spits a quantity of matter, is very weak, lyes on a couch all day, and Her voice so low she can hardly be heard. How shocking! Poor Lord Hillsborough is very miserable, and goes to Bristol with her. Her spirits are so low she does not speak without crying.

P.S. You must not be surprised at the unconnectedness of this Letter, I tell you all I hear, and one Report differs from another. I write this since I came from the Opera, where Rigby told me He had Reason to imagine Mr. Pitt had accepted. He sent an express to Grantham for Calcraft, who brought up last night Lord Granby. To day as soon as Mr. Pitt came from the King, the first person He sent for was Lord Lincoln, who was with him an hour. What is to be collected from these I am not Politician to determine.

Many wish you was in town. I am sure I do, if your health would not suffer by all the Bustles that are likely to happen. Adieu, my Dear Lord, I am, let what will happen, ever most truly

yours,

BATEMAN.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. Saturday night. 6 July [1765].

MY DEAR LORD.

I don't suppose that I shall be able to acquaint you with any thing that you will not either have heard from some other Hand, or that can be much relied upon as authentic. The most so is that which concerns his Grace of Bolton, who dispatched himself yesterday morning by a pistol which he fired under his chin, as they say, sitting in his great chair, in the same House, and almost in the same manner as my Lord Scarborough. There is no particular motive to which it is attributed, but seems to be the effect of a slow nervous fever, of which he complained to his friends for some time. Ch^s Townshend came to town last night, and George¹ this morning, which was to determine

¹ George, Lord Townshend.

his acceptance of the Seals; I've heard nothing of him to-night. The new administration promise much to many people and to themselves more, and to their country. They give great assurances of their stability; be those well or ill founded, I believe their predecessors are sorry y^t they pushed things so far. The D. of Newcastle is to have the Privy Seal, old Winchelsea the presidentship of the Council. Conway is talked of as Chanc^r of the Exchequer, and not Dowdeswell. To-day Horry Walpole tells me S^r W. Baker refused.

Horry has suffered from the Gout excessively, and is much reduced by it. I beg my Respects to Lady Holland, and my love to Stee and Charles. I don't hear yet who goes to Ireland. Wednesday is the day we are to be enlightened at last. Some people imagine the D. of B. has left his estates to E. Paulet. I hear no confirmation of that. I shall be glad to have a line from you, and your Commands, if you have any. We have had some expectations of seeing you here. Every time the Regular Physicians disagreed about their prescriptions, there was a talk of calling in for D^r. Holland.

Horry has prepared something for our entertainment, after the settlement of these affairs. He did not tell me what it was, or that it was for any Body's entertainment but mine and his particular friends. I am, my dear Lord, ever with a most sincere Respect and affection,

Yours,

G. S.

LORD DIGBY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Wednesday Night. 10th July, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I am very glad to hear you and Lady Holland are safely arrived from France. I beg my best Compliments to her and Charles. I saw Ste this morning at Court. It was the fullest Levée considering the Time of year that ever I saw. Lord Rockingham and Mr. Dowdeswell kissed Hands for the Treasury: the Duke of Grafton and Conway as Secretaries of State: the Duke of Portland as Chamberlain. Lord Winchelsea is to be President, and the Duke of Newcastle, I hear, Privy Seal. Lord Villiers is to be Vice-Chamberlain. Tommy Pelham, Ld J. Cavendish, and G. Onslow, Lords of the Treasury. Saunders and Keppel are to come into the Admty in the Room of D^r. Hay and Lord Carysfort. Lord Thomond resigned this morning, and so did Lord Weymouth. I hear Lord Hertford goes to Ireland, if He chuses it:

but what appears most extraordinary is that these new people talk more offensively of my Lord Bute than the late ministers did. Mr. Mackenzie is not to have any thing nor Lord Northumberland; and I hear Lord Despenser is to be turned out, and so is the Attorney General. So I can't see what advantage the King gets by the change.

I dined at Lord Winchelsea's to-day, and after dinner he told all he knew of these matters, and said that he had insisted upon my not being turned out in an offensive manner, upon which The Duke told him he believed there was no such Intention, for that the King told him he had promised me a peerage, and intended to give it me whenever he made any; Upon which He said that, as He believed from the usage you had met with I could have no great attachment to these Ministers that are gone out, He must desire that I might not be turned out without having the Peerage at the same time, and I understand there are to be no peers now, and I am to remain where I am till there are, which He said there would be during the next Sessions of Parl^t. I thanked His Lordship very much for his kindness to me, and told him that my only attachment was to you, and that I thought you had been extremely ill used. After this we talked more in general, and I was sorry to find that there seemed as strong a Jealousy among these New people about Lord Bute's meddling or asking the least Favour, as there could be amongst the late Ministers. I told him I thought Conway very unequal to being Minister in the House of Commons, and He agreed with me, but what could they do better. He seemed very sanguine as to their going on very well. The Cyder Tax is to be repealed, and something done with regard to the warrants.

I hear the King was extremely civil to Lord Gower, Lord Thomond, and Lord Weymouth, when they resigned. Mr. Grenville was with him an hour, but what passed I can't tell. I am sure Mr. Grenville looked very sour and out of humour at the Levée. The Duke of Bedford is at Woburn, but I believe the Duke of Grafton has sent the Letter to turn him out. All the new Ministers meet at the Duke's this evening.

I saw the Duke of Richmond last night, and He asked what I had heard of you, and in talking of these things He said He believed the Duke¹ was disposed to be reconciled to you, and He thought that would be brought about, but from what He judged I can't tell. I suppose you hear from His Grace.

¹ Duke of Cumberland. He had quarrelled with Holland when the latter joined Bute's Government in 1762.

Since I wrote the above I find Circumstances materially altered in what relates to me. Lord Winchelsea came to me this morning to tell me that he had authority from the King to assure me that He intended giving me the Peerage as soon as the Parliament met, but that they must take my place now directly. We then talked about the Canonry of Christ Church for Willy, and He said He would insist upon the first for him; and by what the Duke of Grafton said to me just now, the King has told them that He is engaged to give my Brother the first that is vacant. Lord Winchelsea said He would insist upon the Peerage being entailed upon all the Descendants of William, Lord Digby. If they give me the Peerage in that manner, I shall be very well satisfied; tho the King ought not to have turned me out till He gave me the Peerage.

I understand from Lord W. that none of the present Admty were to remain except Ld Egmont, Lord Howe, and Mr. Pitt; but the Duke of Grafton said It was not quite settled how many of the Board would be changed.

The Duke of Newcastle was at the Levee yesterday, and seemed to be one of the Ministers.

Adieu, most sincerely and affectly

Y^{rs},

DIGBY.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Chesterfield Street. Friday. 12 [July 1765].

MY DEAR LORD.

I was extremely happy to hear of Lady Holland's safe arrival, which your obliging Letter ¹ has confirmed. I also hear that in going over you had so bad a passage, that it has disgusted you a little from sailing. I return you many thanks for my Cloaths; if it is y^e green suit I shall be obliged to the first person who will bring them up to town. Stee's Companion and kinsman is here, and dined with me yesterday. There has been since his coming an échappade from Calais of two or three French officers, who have run no little risk in gratifying their curiosity. If that fancy takes, my ardeur for French company will abate, nor shall I make my Court much at Versailles by my reception of this Kind of Refugees.

The political Curtain has been drawn and the new play Rehearsed; you

¹ See Jesse's *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, i, 380.

are not, I suppose, at a Loss to know who are the new personae dramatis, but for more certainty, I will subjoin a list to this Letter before it is sealed up. The usual comparison of an execution was never better adapted, than to the scene at which I was present last Wednesday. I was with many others myself on the Scaffold, and can testify that I have seen turning off very often have less effect on the human features than turning out. Jemmy Twitcher¹ died like a Cock. I dined with all the culprits afterwards at Guerchy's. Halifax's behaviour was manly. I sate next to Lady W.² at dinner, who seemed to feel much for the Loss of her Royal dignity. I thought she seemed to say like Andromache,

Behold how low they have reduced a Queen.

Her husband, it has been said, was offered terms but refused them. He has received his travelling charges and first fruits, which are, as it were, the fatt of his pans, upon which and independent mutton he hopes to live for some time. The Chamberlain is going into Staffordshire without his Expences paid. There was some plaisanterie between him and the King yesterday at the Queen's Drawing Room sur le Bout des lèvres. Mr. G. has been very civil to me, and I felt for him. I would have painted him myself with some of M^e. de Boufflers' Rouge, if he would have lett, but painted he has been enough, God knows. I do assure it has made me sick of executions. I have been very desirous to get an authentic copy of the dying speeches, but they are not all come out. I have only heard that Lewd women brought them to this end. Twitcher died like one of the Rebel Lords in 'fifteen; he made only a low Bow, and recommended his Son to his Majesty's mercy. They all declare that if the Prince who now Reigns had spared their Lives, they would never have taken up more arms against him. Lord Digby to my great satisfaction has been assured of his peerage; whether he keeps the Admiralty till that is accomplished I find uncertain. The D. of Newcastle said many obliging things to me, and was very civil to Stee; they do not pretend to have given me mercy, but justice. Horry has been much consulted in all this; has been very friendly to me about it. You ask me if I am vexed in any Respect by these changes. I hope you do me the justice to think I cannot feel for myself only. You have electrified too much not to think of my friends. Poor Williams has lost 450*£* a year, and with it a great part of his income, and been much felt by him. If Lord Ashburnham

¹ Lord Sandwich.

² Lady Weymouth.

had had the Cofferer's place, he might have been safe, but there could be no decent application for any body else. However Charles Townshend, who is petri de générosité et de sentimens, has wrote so warm and pressing a letter to Lord Rockingham in his favor, that we are in hopes of a resurrection in some other department. March is, you know, a very near and serious object of my concern. He is in no danger of losing his place, but that he desires to hold no longer than the King's favor, which if there is one subject that deserves more than another by their personal Love and attachment to him it is he. But I'm afraid he has not been so represented. I shall never be satisfied while things are so, and I shall think his Majesty like any other person very ill advised that quarrels with people wantonly, who would serve him for the pleasure of his good will only. I am extremely serious as well as my friend upon this point, but hope if any ill impressions have [been] made they may be effaced by an appeal to actions. They are in all cases the least fallacious.

The stories told of the former ministers exceed all belief, and are strongly denied. It putts me much in mind of w^t I've read of the D^{ss} of Marlborough's ministry. You remember the Queen's Speech to her at parting, "I dont doubt, Lady Dutchess, but many lies have been told; but there is truth enough left." It is a pity people cant be sure how they will feel in the Situation to which they wantonly expose themselves. But as Ld Cowper told the condemned Lords, their minds were filled with the Hopes of persons who are to live in this world. They died much unprepared, that is the truth of it. I wish it had not been so; I mett with Civilities from them, and their successors I have no connection with, but what a little Hazard or trente quarante has given me. À propos to that, I thank you, my dear Lord, for your very cordial and, like all your other, very salutary advice as to play. I will do, from Respect to your kindness and authority with me, what other considerations have not prevailed with me to do as yet. I will sett about the work of Salvation with earnestness; for according to your account, Salvation it is. As to Price, I agree ex nihilo nil fit: but in any other Respect I hold him Guiltless. At least he does not carry those suspicious tokens of being a cheat, as if he had been born in Naples. I'm afraid I see in your Letter a Coup-de-patte for March. My dear Lord, do not fancy that he is an advocate for stigmatised sharpers; and as to what happened in Paris, I'm afraid that it was more owing to your indulgence than your judgment, if you think him more to blame than me. I had once

resolved never to play for a shilling in a room where there was a son of yours; but it is, as Atterbury says, a dangerous thing for the most resolved man in the world to be a constant witness of vice and folly.

Horry goes to Paris when the Gout will permitt him. Pitt is not so with his. He calls Temple a fool; in short, he is not now so near him in friendship as in blood, as he said of G. Grenville. Jack Shelley looks much disappointed; I dont hear in what department he is to display his Talents. A Reconciliation is endeavouring to be brought about for the D^{ss} of Grafton. I hope it will succeed, or I shall send her a Book w^{ch} I see advertised on the Culture of Carrots. Those who cannot gett reelected declare they will not accept or diminish the strength which the employment they might [have] may give to his Majesty, when bestowed on more interested objects.

The D. of N. will have the most to say, for some time, I believe. Hinchlif is talked of for the next new Bishop, and Keppell to go to Salisbury on the approaching vacancy, and to have that beautiful Chorister which you and I saw waiting upon the last prelate. S^r F. Dashwood came into y^e King's Room just as Ld Ash. was kissing Hands for his employment, without knowing that he was to lose it.¹ Talbot stays in. Todd goes out of the post office, and I hope his Successor will not open my Letter. If he does, among other things he may know that lett who will be minister, I am ever Lord Holland's most affectionate, and to speak in a political Style, devoted Servant.

HON. C. J. FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. Saturday [July 13, 1765].

I arrived here about five o'clock, and found at dinner chez nous three or four foreigners and a good many English. All the news I could learn there was that Mr. Grenville, in his Conference with the King, had expostulated with him on the injustice of his Anger against him, and desired to know in what he had been wanting of Respect and Duty towards him. I heard too that it was Ld Townshend who hindered his Brother from being Secretary of State; and who had not (as we heard) the refusal of Ireland, which I am told he wants very much. As I was going from home to the D. of Richmond's I met

¹ Keeper of the Great Wardrobe.

Ly Townshend,¹ who carried me home, and told me a great deal of news. Ld Dartmouth is first Ld of Trade. Lds Besborough and Grantham Postmasters, Ld Ashburnham Master of the Wardrobe, Ld Scarborough Cofferer, Tom Pelham Treasurer of the household, Melish and Lowns Secretaries of the Treasury; all the other Places are as we heard. Mr. Yorke is to be Attorney General; and Pratt a Peer, to shew the World that Mr. Pitt is with the Court. Mr. Pitt also insists on Ld Lyttleton's taking a place; he hopes Mr. J. Grenville will also, but will not venture to advise any man to quarrel with his Brother. He says he has had many vexations, but none that he feels more sensibly than his Brother Temple's behaviour on late occasions, who, it is said, wanted as a Condition, that Ld Bute and Mr. Mackenzie should never live in England. Mr. Pitt, on the contrary, thinks Mr. Mackenzie should have a Place, but not of trust; but this Ministry are unwilling give him any, lest they should be thought L^d Bute's men. Mr. Mackenzie too rather (as it is said) declines it, lest it should be disadvantageous to the present Ministry. Mr. Townshend is for using moderation in turning out; his history on this occasion is as follows. They offered him Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he would not accept, unless they would make him first Ld of the treasury. They then offered him Secretary of State, with which he was more pleased, but said he could not do any thing without Ld Townshend. When Ld Townshend heard this, he advised him not to take so considerable a part in the *Duke's* Administration, since the Duke did not seem inclined to forget former quarrells, and no application was made to Ld Townshend. Mr. Townshend goes out of town Monday, but I expect to see him tomorrow. Ld Barrington is Secretary at War; Ellis is to have Rigby's Place; and the Treasury of the Navy is by some supposed to be kept open for J. Grenville, who is gone to Stowe to ask leave to take it. I hear from the D. of Richmond that Ld Temple begins to soften. From Ly Townshend's I went to Mr. Ellis, who is at Twickenham, where I have sent him the letter you gave me for him. I saw the D. of Richmond, who told me that he had not written to you, because he knew this arrangement but was not at liberty to discover it. He refused to go to France, not out of any Pique, he says, but because he does not chuse to be out of England next Sessions.² He says he is perfectly satisfied with his situation. I think he said he might have been Cofferer, but did not

¹ Widow of Charles, 3rd Viscount Townshend, and mother of the above-mentioned brothers.

² He went to Paris in September.

chuse it when the Dukes of Grafton and Portland were so much higher; he seems, however, in perfect good humour. He hopes to see you soon, and to talk with you, which he says he shall more willingly do than write. With regard to what he dropt to Ld Digby about the Duke, he says it is a conjecture from an expression of the Duke's,¹ who (as he says) never used to speak at all kindly of you till lately, when finding himself in some dilemma, said, "If Ld Holland and I were well together, he would soon advise me how to arrange all this." But he imagines any reconciliation *now* to be utterly impossible, for the present Ministry are much afraid of appearing to favour Ld Bute's Friends, but he thinks they are well inclined towards you, and were it not for that same fear would make you an Earl. He thinks towards the end of next sessions you will be made an Earl, and very possibly reconciled to the Duke. I saw Mr. Walpole, who is pretty well recovered from his Gout. Mr. Burk, I hear (not the sublime), is the Author of the letter we read in the Papers, signed *an Occasional Writer*, and Ld Sandwich is universally said to be *Antisejanus*.² Ld Digby and Mr. Digby are gone to Ditton, so that I could not see them. The D^{ss} of Bedford told Ld Ophaly she believed you were a very good man in your private family, but that in public life she feared it was impossible to acquitt you of Insincerity. The Bitch! Adieu, your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

C. J. Fox.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

July 15th, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I wish I was as able as willing to tell you all I know of the late transactions; but for these sixteen last days I have been confined to my room, and almost the whole time to my bed, with the gout in my head, stomach, and both feet, with much fever and sharp pain. You may judge what havoc, this, joined to the heat of the weather, has made in so flimzy a texture as mine! My weakness is excessive, and I am now lying at length on my couch while I write to you, and not without pain.

The dismay of the late ministers has been in proportion to their former

¹ Duke of Cumberland.

² The series of letters, signed in this form, were written by James Scott, a clergyman, under Sandwich's influence.

Insolence. Sandwich alone has born it well; Grenville worst of all. Except the disinterested Lord Powis, not a man has resigned for them that was not expected, unless you reckon Ld Charles Spencer, on whom there were doubts. Ld Suffolk was so impatient to be of the number, that he carried his gold stick this morning to the King instead of the Duke of Norfolk, but the King wd not take it, and bad him carry it to the person he had it from.

Lord Granby, who they intended should be out of humour, has interceded for and saved Charles Vernon. Charles Townshend makes promises to the Outs, and applications to the Ins; and goes out of Town tomorrow. His Brother, so violent two days ago, has quarrelled with Ld Weymouth, who will not reelect Ld Villiers (not on that point, but on the election for Tamworth), and has carried Lutterel down to oppose whoever is set up by Lord Weymouth. Now you are as wise about the Townshends as ever!

Is it telling you any thing, to tell you that the Duke of Newcastle is as busy as ever in teasing to have his old dishclouts newlaced! and in forcing people to dine at Claremont? It may be more new to acquaint you that an offer of the Peerage was sent last night to Ld Chief Justice Pratt; and tho' you know it already, I can but congratulate you on the confirmation of Ld Digby's peerage.¹

I wish I was as well satisfied about the Duke of Richmond, who is not yet placed to his liking, tho' it ought to have been one of the first points they thought of. I have made use of all the latitude of peevishness which the Gout authorizes, to scold about him. I am the more impatient about it, because I wish to see it done before I go to Strawberry, which I hope to do in two or three days, and then I take my leave of politics for ever. I shall go to Paris the beginning of September, or sooner if I am able to bear the journey. Both my mind and body want repose, and the former to be amused with more agreeable nonsense than what has occupied it of late,—in short, nonsense of my own, not nonsense of other people. I rejoyce that you enjoy your health so well. When I am a little stronger, if there is any thing you want to know in which I can inform you, you know I am always most ready to do it. At present I am a poor Creature, and write with such difficulty that I am sure you will excuse me.

Y^{rs} ever,

H. WALPOLE.

¹ He was to be made a Peer of Great Britain.

MR. UPTON TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. July the 16th, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I had flattered myself that you would have received a letter from Mr. Mackenzie by the hands of your son Ste. He will tell you why it is not so. In the mean time I will tell you what I do know, which is that all my friends are much dissatisfied with the manner of proceeding of the present Administration. They say that they every day turn out some of the ablest and best friends of the King, and fill their places with such kind of people, that they must necessarily find themselves defenceless in the House of Commons; that the Duke of Newcastle sweeps all before Him, in order to make way for all His Creatures, even to the smallest ramification of Imployment, and that *the Duke* permits this. That the whole Administration is absurdly composed, and that it can't well continue long in *this form*. Charles Townshend, who is also much displeased, says that they will launch, but that it will be like the Essex Hog, loaded with Calves, Hogs, and Bullocks, and that when the jumbling comes, they'll call out and seek for men, and run their head against a Bullock. He says, "They make up a Ministry without saying a word or consulting me; and then tell me, there's your place, you may go in there." However I am informed, and from good hands, that Lord Townshend is at the bottom of all this, being determined not to have any connexion with the Duke, and keeps His Brother off. Charles seems extremely well pleased with Himself for his manner of acting on this occasion. He told Lord Rockingham that He neither desired nor would know any of their transactions, that He might be able to declare in the *House* that he knew nothing of the plan nor ever had the least hand in it. He is gone out of Town this morning early. *My friends* approve much of His behaviour on this occasion. Lady Northumberland says that S^r Samuel Fludyer told Her that they began to regret George Grenville in the City, and feared that these people would not get on well. It would be very extraordinary indeed, if *He* should grow popular. I hear that the true reason for your being turned out was for your attachment to Lord Bute. Lord Litchfield says that He wonders they don't turn Him out, as He is certainly among those marked by them to be sacrificed, viz., a friend to Lord Bute, and that He only waits to see what they will do of themselves. Others have assured me, Fitzherbert among the rest, that they only

waited for some time, in order to prevent the late administration from saying that they acted under Lord Bute, before they could take notice of you or Mr. Mackenzie; that Pitt was not afraid of taking notice of Lord Bute's Brother, and of appointing Him to a good place, and why should they?

My friends doubt, I find, much of Mr. Pitt's sincerity in His last negotiation, and think it impossible but that He must have known Ld Temple's intentions and *reasons*, who went down after the affair was over to Hayes, and from thence to Stowe together, from whence Mr. Pitt came to Town last night. They are well persuaded that Lord Temple had agreed with Greenville not to come in without Him, and that the family compact is compleat. When Ld Hallifax took leave of the Closet, He had the extreme modesty to ask in what He had offended, to which Question He received no answer. Mr. Greenville, it was said, did the same, but my friend says not, or He must have heard of it. 'Tis said He only mentioned His endeavours to do all the service in His power, his success, and wishes that others might succeed better, his zeal for his M.'s Service, &c. I hope still that Mr. Mackenzie will write. If He has a moment before He goes to Scotland, I am sure He will, and I promise to keep it till a sure hand can be found to carry it to you.

Lord Bute had company with Him every time I waited on Him. I don't give Him up yet. In the mean time I have done my best, and Ferdinando can do no more than He can do.

I have wrote so many letters to-night that I can scarce hold my pen.

LORD DIGBY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Tuesday night. July 16th.

MY DEAR LORD.

I received your Letter to day but did not think of writing again till Thursday. I just now hear that Mr. Fox goes to Kingsgate tomorrow, and so I must tell you that Dr. Barton is dead very luckily, and it is settled Willy is to have his Canonry, and I am much obliged to Lord Winchelsea for the Trouble He has taken about it. I saw him just now, but as we were not quite alone, He would not talk about my Peerage any further than to assure me that He was positive It would be done as I wished. However Pratt is made Lord Camden, so If mine is not done directly I think the promise is

broke. I am inclined to go to the King myself as you advise, but I must talk to Lord Winchelsea again before that is quite determined, for which Reason I cant go till Friday, and I hope Willy will kiss Hands that Day.

You think this Ministry will last, and I agree with you so far as to think they are in no danger from the opposition of the Grenville, Bedford, &c.; but I think Mr. Conway¹ so unable, so weak and indecisive for a Minister in the House of Commons, that I think they must call upon Charles Townshend, and have him at any Rate. Besides, it is the general opinion that Lord Rockingham does not like his post, and will not keep it a twelvemonth; so that will make a very great alteration. If these People will act wisely and prudently, I think they will go on very well, but they seem to act very foolishly and imprudently in turning out Lord Despenser,² and crying out so loudly against Lord Bute, and refusing to prefer Lord Northumberland or Mackenzie or anybody the King wishes well to. I think the Peerage given to Pratt a very unwise measure. It will revolt the Tory party, and indispose many others who have supported the Crown throughout Wilkes's Affair. Why do they conclude Ld Hillsborough is to go against them, and turn him out? Why is Nugent to go out? It seems to be making enemies without any Reason.

I hear the great Mr. Pitt protects his nephew; but It is generally thought that He will not accept of his protection, tho He is in Cornwall still.

Lord Howe was to remain in the Adm^{ty}, but Saunders and Keppel have a nonsensical scruple of being below him at the Board, so that prevents the Adm^{ty} from being filled up.

The Duke of Marlborough, Ld Charles Spencer, and Ld Powis have resigned.

If Ld Bute is wise, you say, the Jealousy of him will subside. Surely He is not wise; and the new Ministers set out with a great jealousy of him and great enmity to him.

As to Wells, if you have a mind Ste Fox should come in, and would keep Peter Taylor quiet, I think that might be contrived without much difficulty. Neither of my Brothers will stand, and tho I think with the Dean's Assistance we could carry it upon reasonable Terms for any one of the Family, yet It would not be the same If you was to attempt to recommend a Stranger.

¹ Secretary of State.

² The barony of Le Despenser was revived in favour of Sir Francis Dashwood in 1763.

If Peter Taylor stands I think there will be a Contest, and It will very soon be as troublesome and expensive as any other Borough.

The noble Captain¹ and Willy both desire their Love to you.

Adieu. Believe me most affect^{ly}

Y^{rs}, DIGBY.

I am much obliged to Lady Holland for her kind Invitation. I would come in next month at the time that would be most agreeable to you, if I knew.

LORD DIGBY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Thursday. 18th July, 1765.

Lord Ilchester says, and I agree with him, that the repealing of the Cyder Tax will probably occasion a greater and more reasonable clamour about the last additional Tax upon Beer; and the making Pratt a peer is not likely to quiet violent people and discourage the Factious and insolent. Lord Egmont is violent about it. I told him you thought this would go on; that the Power of the Crown would carry the House of Commons. He agreed with you in general, but not If the Government don't trust to that strength, and are courting popularity by such extraordinary measures as the preferring Lord Camden.²

The Duke of Marlborough, Ld Charles, and Ld Powis have resigned, and I hear Lord Bolingbroke resigns as soon as He is out of waiting. So the D. of Marlborough takes a Hostile part, and I should think Ld Bateman would be in some Danger. Jack Shelley is to be restored to what he had, so Mr. Bateman will suffer. Augustus Hervey resigns; He has been at Woburn, and I hear He is hard at work to reconcile Bedford House and Ld Temple. George Grenville and Pitt have been shut up together many hours. All this will make one think that these people, tho widely separated of late, may unite, and that will produce an extraordinary Scene. This new Ministry give out that Pitt will support them, and have preferred Pratt to make the world believe it; but many people doubt what part he may take yet. I was told that He had already been displeased at their making so free with his name.

¹ Hon. Robert Digby, the writer's brother, a captain in the Navy.

² Pratt was raised to the peerage as Baron Camden.

Digby to Holland

I just now hear that it is proposed to send Lord Rochford to Paris, Lord Huntingdon to Madrid, and then make the Duke of Richmond Groom of the Stole.

Mr. Offley is to be Vice Treasurer of Ireland. Surely it was not worth while turning out Nugent, who has at least four votes in Parliament, for Mr. Offley?

I heard Gilbert Elliot was to go out. Surely this Conduct is void of all prudence and Common sense. They drive all the people of ability to Bedford House, and seem to attend to nothing but preferring those young people who made but a bad Figure in the late Opposition. Norton,¹ they say, is excessively angry, and says he never will take a Brief on the part of the Crown again. I should have thought Lord Mansfield would have more weight with Lord Rockingham, but it does not seem as if He was at all consulted. Surely the Crown loses more, by preferring Pratt and disgracing Norton than the ablest and firmest Minister would recover in twenty years. I wish the King had resisted these Disgracefull measures, that will dishonour him and prevent any body of abilities from struggling for the Authority of the Crown in a future Squabble.

Lord Barrington is Secretary at War, and Ld Middleton has been offered Treasurer of the Navy, upon Condition that He would pay a thousand pounds a year to Mr. William Finch as long as he lives, and His Lordship has declined it upon these Terms. Adieu.

Believe me, most affectionately yours,

DIGBY.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Friday. July 19th [1765].

MY DEAR LORD.

You are exceedingly kind, but I certainly do not regret any pains I can take to amuse or inform you. Several things that have happened, have undoubtedly given me great satisfaction, but they cannot quiet pain, nor what, sharp as the pain was, I think worse, the Fever which accompanied it. I have

¹ Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards Lord Grantley; Attorney-General in the former Administration.

been lifted into a coach to day to take the air, and shall be carried to Strawberry tomorrow, but the little strength I possessed does not return at all.

I doubt much whether Lord Hertford will go to Ireland, tho I own I am singular in that opinion. He is to be here next week to make his decision. You might well conclude that my journey to Paris was a symptom of his staying there; yet it was not. I have so long set my mind upon it, that I am now childishly eager for it. I long to go where I may hear any nonsense but what I have been so long used to, and tho it is common to change one's opinion, at least one's language, when one quits Opposition, I am exactly the same I always told you I was. I am weary of politics and detest the House of Commons; and having obtained all I ever wished, the Liberty of pleasing myself without being tied to a party, I shall withdraw from even the discourse of it. To be sure it would have happened a little more decently, if the gout had not come across such youthful resolutions; but why may I not go to Paris with as much propriety as the Duke of Newcastle to St James's?

Lord Barrington's promotion or depression, whichever you please to call it, was I believe owing to his Grace, who wanted to parcel out the Treasurer of the Navy.¹ There are few other promotions but what come from the same hand: yet he frets and scolds and sputters, and is not half satisfied, and the rest are so weak as to mind him.

The Attorney-General was dismissed this morning, but I do not find they have any assurance that Yorke will accept his place. Lord Bolingbroke, Seymour, and Aug. Hervey have or are to resign, which I hear will shut up the List. The Duke of Portland told me this morning that when Pratt went to see Pitt, after accepting his peerage, the latter took no notice about it. When Pratt told him of it, all he replied was, "Oh! then it is true that you are made a Peer." The late Ministers brag of a visit Mr. Pitt has made to Geo. Grenville, which lasted long enough for one of them to have made a speech in, in short, four hours.

I am sorry for the charge of insincerity brought against you, because the person that makes it is so great a mistress of herself,² that Folks will think she cannot be mistaken in her own walk. But as I do not doubt but she will very soon cry up the Sincerity of my Lord Temple, you may cure the wound with the Scorpion's own oil.

¹ Lord Barrington had become Secretary at War instead of Treasurer of the Navy.

² The Duchess of Bedford.

I am heartily glad to add a new congratulation on Mr. Digby's Canonry; it is a promotion that pleases every body that knows his merit.

This is not written, I fear, very legibly, as I am still lying on a couch, but you must accept the intention of the Writer, who is,

ever y^{rs},

H. WALPOLE.

HON. C. J. FOX TO LORD HOLLAND.

Oxford. Saturday night [July 20, 1765].

I received to day your letter, and was very glad to hear that Mr. W. Digby is Canon of Ch. Ch., for it was strongly reported here that Mr. Cust was to succeed Dr. Barton. His house is a very good one, and has an extremely good Garden; it is in the Cloyster Quadrangle.

I saw Mr. Townshend in London, who was extremely civil to me. I expected a good deal, but he surpassed my expectations. He seemed to say the reason for his declining Secretary of State was because he did not chuse to be responsible for measures, which he supposed would be whatever Mr. Pitt *should graciously please to command*. Those were his words. He told me that he had procured the Provostship of Eton for Barnard.

I saw Ld Sandwich, with whom I talked a good deal about Politicks as well as other things. He thinks Mr. Grenville will make a great figure in opposition, if opposition be *necessary*; but he does not think that will be the case. I pressd him in vain to tell me why you were turned out. He said he did not know *all* the reasons for that measure; he says he opposed it, and was sorry for it. He asked whether I loved sailing, and would sail with him to Kingsgate. I told him I should go to Kingsgate in about three weeks, and should be very glad to go with him; he is to write to me when he goes.

I should have told you some thing about Ld Barrington, but I could find nobody who c^d in the least explain what seems so extraordinary.

I did not see Dr. Campbell; I saw his Son, whom I desired to excuse me to his Father, as my stay in Town was so very short.

My opinion is that Ld Temple and Mr. Pitt will come in; and I do not think it unlikely Ld Rockingham will go to Ireland, as (I hear) he says he should have liked that much better than the Treasury. It is said (I suppose without foundation) that Ld Hertford is to have the Treasury.

Mr. de Belzeux and two other Foreigners, to my great surprize, called upon me. I shewed them Oxford and Blenheim; my Brother addressed them to me. I am your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

C. J. Fox.

Pray give my love to my Mother and Brother.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Strawberry Hill.

July 21st, 1765. Sunday.

MY DEAR LORD.

I had sent away my letter, and left London before your last arrived there, which occasioned my not receiving it till this morning here. Lord Hertford is expected in town next Thursday. I have told you in my letter of last night that I doubted his going to Ireland, but I owned at the same time that I was singular in my opinion. If he does not, it will certainly be the Duke of Richmond. However I will certainly recommend Mr. Cooper¹ to Ld Hertford, tho I can do it but in the second place, having promised to desire him to continue Capt. Erskine, son of Lady Frances, who was aide-de-camp to Ld Northumberland. I should therefore, my dear Lord, advise both y^r Lordship and Lady Holland to write immediately, as I know of abundant solicitations. One is promised to the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway has recommended the gentlemen that were his aids de camp, tho they have not yet any promise. I am very minute, but when you do me the honour to consult me, it is right to tell you exactly all I know of the matter.

As I am quite alone here, I can add nothing to my last, but what I shall say very little upon. I am cool and comfortable here, which I have not been these three weeks, but not a jot stronger or less helpless than I was. Adieu! my dear Lord,

Yrs most sincerely,

H. WALPOLE.

If this affair should not succeed for Mr. Cooper, you know, my dear Lord, how ready I shall be to use what little interest I have in the new Ministry to serve him in any other shape. Impute this offer to my zeal, and

¹ Lord Holland's illegitimate son.

not to any impertinent air. God knows how little that is my disposition. I have little credit with them; I have not even cultivated that little, and after trying to do what good I could in saving some, and, as they will bear me witness, speaking against none, I have left them with my good wishes, but I hope not altered myself in any point that was worth preserving.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Sunday noon. 21 [July ? 1765].

MY DEAR LORD.

I had the Honor of your last yesterday, but I had that of so much Company at the same time, that I was prevented from that opportunity of thanking you for it, and setting right a mistake of yours in regard to what I said, and which I suppose was very confusedly expressed. I never meant to say that I thought either the last or the present ministry served the King for any particular affection they bore him; I am not such a dupe in politics, whatever I may be at play.¹ I spoke of Lord March and myself. I am sure of the one, and can better answer for the other than any man breathing, that we desire only his good will for our Goodwill to him. In the revolution of things we may have our merit with him, and it is some to be sincere; ergo, don't let him frown or Rump or what you please, trop légèrement those who have that kind of Attachment to him which we both have, and I believe few, very few, besides. I am glad you was pleased with the Ordinary's acc^t of the execution. I was brought up under Guthrie, and know a penitent when I see him, and why he is penitent. I believe you could have dispensed wth the Honor w^{ch} Stee procured of his Highness the P. of Chimay's company. I had my share of him here. The others left me to day; this week and a favorable wind wistles off our Hands many more, and then I shall have more leisure for my own affairs and friends, who have a better right to my time than all France.

I have a scheme of coming myself this week to return Lady Holland in person my thanks for the Honor of her note and the trouble she was so good as to give herself. Ld March and I have made an offer to attend M^e. de Bentheim as far as Canterbury.

The last news I heard will be stale to you when this comes, but the

¹ See Jesse's *Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, i, 386. (Holland to G. Selwyn. July 19.)

Attorney is out, Ld Middleton they say Treasurer of the Navy. Bully¹ resigns today; as the officer says in *Venice preserved*, his friends are dead already, but he would not resign till his waiting was over. I wish you was in town for many reasons, but one is to give the Visc^{ss} a little advice; she has a mind to separate. Bully pour le Coup is extremely right headed in this affair; has behaved very handsomely both to her and to her whole family. He comes to me and laments his situation; I have told him, as the D. de la Rochfoucault says, "Les querelles ne dureroient pas long tems, si le tort n'étoit que d'un côté." He has promised to add no fresh matter. Horry is recovered enough to leave London, so there is a great channel or Intelligence stopt. Williams' Affair is in Ld Rockingham's Hands, and Mellish to perform the manoeuvre. It is not known in what shape he will be restored. Charles is much in earnest ab^t it, and they say if he is Williams shall have an equivalent, voilà où nous en sommes.

I hear the D^{ss} of B. does not come to town to her Daughter-in-Law's Lying in. It is incredible, and for why? And yet I have been assured so by one of their upper Servants. M^e. de Guerchy has told me so before. I am happy that Ld Digby's affairs go on so well. If he has his peerage, the Admiralty is nothing. Poor Grevil expects his dismissal daily. Restitution is the word at Newcastle House, and there, I believe, is the oracle. Meetings are every night almost at his R.H. Ch^s T. does by no means approve the Att. Gen.'s dismissal. Pitt approves of nothing but himself. He threatens to deny their assertions in the *Gazette*, and will pay no debts they shall contract. The Chan^{cr} told me it was a simple system, by what he could perceive hitherto. I long to hear what another opinion is that I respect more yⁿ his decrees, and will come to Kingsgate for it, if I can.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington street.

Aug. 2, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I am heartily concerned that you should have the smallest disappointment about Mr. Cooper, but I must do justice to Lord Hertford, tho at the expence of myself. He had long ago promised the younger Cunningham: the Duke

¹ Lord Bolingbroke.

of Grafton recommended Mr. Fleming; Mr. Conway insisted on two of his three aide de camps, and the Irish Speaker could not be refused one. The sixth, Lord Hertford was so good as to tell me I should recommend. You may be sure I should have had no doubt of naming Mr. Cooper, if I had not, as I told you fairly, been engaged to solicit for Mr. Erskine. I could not in honour wave him, when I was bound to serve him if I could, nor will you, I think, blame me. Lord Hertford has promised, and will tell you so himself, to advance Mr. Cooper in the army. I desire to be his Remembrancer, and Lady Hertford's great friendship and affection for Lady Holland will more than second any thing I can say. 'Tis my earnest wish that this may be satisfactory to you. I have told you the truth, and hope that will be a pledge that I shall be as zealous to serve Mr. Cooper as I am ready to take the blame, if I am to blame, which however I shall be very sorry if you think me.

It is with much more pleasure I tell you that the Duke of Richmond goes Ambassador to Paris; for they are only agreeable things that I ever wish to be able to tell you.

I am still a prisoner to my room, and even to my couch, having had a bad return, and not yet able to wear a shoe. Adieu! my dear Lord,

Yrs most sincerely,

H. WALPOLE.

DR. CAMPBELL¹ TO LORD HOLLAND.

MY DEAR LORD.

We are still in a very unstable state, but I hope not quite in so bad a one as your Lordship imagines. Monarchs certainly are not, but Monarchy in this Country I hope will be immortal, and to render it so, I wish that every Monarch may have such a Counsellor as your Lordship. If any Scheme exists for the subversion of our present Form of Rule, the most natural Step was removing you from employment, the only Light in which it can be considered, I think, as consistent.

There has been a small Quarrel between our new Ministers. The D. of N. sans façon named Mr. West Treasurer of the Navy, to which the M. of R. objected. His Grace thought to close the Matter by saying, "My dear R., West must be Treasurer," to which the M. replied, "I am sorry your

¹ Dr. John Campbell (1708-1775). A contributor to the *Biographia Britannica*, and on friendly terms with Dr. Johnson.

Grace obliges me to speak so plain, because it obliges me to tell you that he must not, and that Lord Howe must have that employment." This, tho' very ill taken, has been since compromised between the great People, but Mr. West is inconsolable and irreconcilable, from which however I conceive that no very ill consequences are to be dreaded.

The World at present wonder not a little at the Conduct of Mr. Charles Yorke, which is attributed by some to one Cause, and by some to another.¹ I have been told by one who pretends to know much of the Secrets of that Family, that he has two or rather three Things in view. He would be a Lord, and he would have his Honour entailed upon his Issue by his second wife, which would secure two Peerages in his Family; and lastly, he would have the Promise of the great Seal when the Earl of Northington either declines or is dead. Whether he is to prevail or not, seems to be a Matter of great Deliberation even with those who have done some Things without.

The Points which are said to embarrass the Cabinet are the forming a Proper Alliance abroad, and the finding a Tax that will yield largely at home, each of which I take to be a Thing much more difficult than turning in and turning out. We have paid so dear for Allies, and notwithstanding that our Allies have held us so cheap, that I believe the Language of Demosthenes would scarce make a new Alliance go down with the present Generation, more especially when coupled with a new Tax, which, whether intended or not, vulgar Opinion would certainly connect with it. As to this last, with which were I a Minister I would chuse to begin, I think it a Labour fit for a Hercules, and the more so if, as every Body whispers, another Tax is to be repealed,² laid with Difficulty and supported with clamour, which I think would be louder, and perhaps more general, on the first Attempt to repeal it. To take this off, and at the same Time to lay another on, if both can be accomplished, will, I presume, be most convincing Marks of the great Abilities of the present Administration.

I rejoice, my Lord, most heartily at the Thoughts of Lord Digby's being made a British Peer. But I wish it might be compleated before the Sessions; that is, while those who promise it, exist. For it does not seem to me that their Promises will bind their Executors, or I should say, their Successors;

¹ "Charles Yorke consented to take the place of Attorney-General in Norton's room, & as quickly repented of & recalled his consent. . . . Sometime after he was again made Attorney-General" (*H. Walpole's Memoirs*, ii, 200).

² The Stamp Act.

and therefore to shew that they can do some Good, I wish they would do it soon.

I conversed yesterday so long and so freely with Mr. Charles Fox, that I really have not left myself Matter for a long Letter. But if I should either recollect any Thing or learn any Fact worth your Lordship's knowledge, I will send it with a Book to your House in Piccadilly; and in the mean Time will conclude with just whispering that my Prophecy of a certain Reconciliation may even yet be fulfilled, of which no man will be more glad than,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's ever faithful and devoted servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

7th August, 1765.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Chesterfield Street. Wenesday. 7 Aug. [1765.]

MY DEAR LORD.

I thank you for the Honor of your last, which was the best as the longest Letter I've received from you a great while. I offered my attendance to M^e. de Bentheim, but she did not accept it. I should have been recompensed more by y^e pleasure of waiting on you and Lady Holland than by any thing else. I shall take another opportunity; in the mean time return you both many thanks for the desire you express to see me.

The D. of Richmond's going to France pleases me much. I have already experienced how ready both he and the Dutchess are to oblige me, and as to the Reputation he wants to establish of Impuissance, I forgive it him; and would only recommend his silence upon y^t article. His Grace's House is certainly of Glass.

I am not qualified to speak for certain concerning either the D. or D^{ss} of Queensberry. W^t Ld March may be induced to do from affinity or expectation I cannot tell, but the principle he lays down, and which I own I adopt, is different. You are quite right ab^t the Vis^{ct}^{ss}.¹ Their case is, as I believe, full of Reciprocity; I have only strongly recommended it to him, to be no more in the wrong, and she will be tired of being angry and of *other things*, and then her good sense will dictate to her to make it up with

¹ Bolingbroke.

him, if he desires it. But it affects him much at present, and as I love him extremely, it hurts me too. Williams's affair is still to be done; but Ld Rockingham speaks abt it as if he would really do it, and I hope he will act more steadily than the person who recommended it generally does. I wish he was in Town to press it further. I should have better hopes. Ld Digby has left me this morning to kiss Hands, so dines with me tomorrow Ld Digby of Sherbourne. I am heartily glad of it on every acct, as the K. of France said this year in a letter, which I saw of his Majesty's to the Prince de [illegible], on the Subject of a Duché, which he intended to create on his account en pairie:—"Un si brave nom ne peut être trop décoré."

I hope Charles will do me the favour to call. I desire you to leave a friendship for me as a burthen on the fortunes you leave your children, if I am the Survivor. I will tell him all I am told, but I know nothing. The D. of Grafton and I dined yesterday at Seilern's, the Imp. Minister's. His Grace told me that all regard was intended to be paid to you and to your friends but Ld Hilsborough. How is that? Mr. Digby, I can account for, upon y^e principle of Restitution. I did not discuss or contradict, but bow only. Greville is to go to Ratisbonne, as he told me. Pratt's peerage does not seem to please any body but himself, as I find. Norton has bullied Pitt into an Esteem of him. I have, I own, always seen that great orator in the light of one who has a great deal of the Spaniel in him, and if Courage was not the most difficult thing in the world to imitate, I should think y^t Hume Campbell, if he had acted his part properly, might have made Pitt respect him the rest of his Life.

Lord Middleton is past Recovery.¹ He is at his father-in-Law's. The family is so distressed on Lady Middleton's acct, that I shall be banished from it for some time.

Seilern and M^{me}. de Masserano's² Love goes to a degree of Ridicule. The Husband and brother are monstrously uneasie that she exposes herself and consequently them; otherwise, I suppose, indifferent enough. Fanshawe is safe. All that flesh has kept in a little life, as Shakespear says.

I hear no more today. I'm going to dine with my Lady at Paddington. She has just been with me all over my House, and is in Love wth y^r picture.

¹ George, 3rd Viscount Midleton, died during August.

² Wife of the Spanish envoy in London.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

[August 21, 1765.]

MY DEAR LORD.

I had the Honor of your last upon the Road from Brighthelmstone, from whence I came yesterday, and where I was at the débarquement of his Grace of Bedford.

I have only time to write to you a few lines to acquaint you with two events. The Queen was brought to bed this morning very early of a son,¹ after an extreme short and, I believe, very easy Labour. The 2^d event is more melancholy.² Ld Fortescue shott himself this morning ab^t noon, at his house in Grosvenor Square, for w^t Reason is not known: may be none. The most singular circumstance attending it is, that his Serv^{ts} brought him down from the two pair of stairs to the Room where he did it, not quite dead, into the area, to wash him, before a Collected mob, dont je ne fus pas, who were the Beholders of that shocking Spectacle.

I hear no news. The Duke of Richmond has this moment told me y^t he would stay in Town to see Lady Holland. Lauragais letts him leave his house for the purpose.

Greville goes to Munich, and not to Ratisbonne, and seems very happy with the appointment. He is writing at the same table with me, and desires me to say, "Tout ce qu'il y a de plus respectueux et d'honnête pour lui."

My Respects to Lady Holland; I shall wait upon her on her arrival.

Your Lordship's

most aff^{ly},

G. S.

White's.

Wenesday night.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Saturday morning. [August 24, 1765.]

MY DEAR LORD.

To answer more particularly the Letter I had the Honor of receiving of the 16,³ and that which Ld Digby was so good as to bring me. You

¹ The Duke of Clarence.

² A story made up to play a joke on Mr. Selwyn, who was fond of horrors.

³ See Jesse's *Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, i, 392.

want to know the stories which I heard of the late ministry's altercations with the K. I do assure you I am not afraid of communicating to you any thing I hear; I am nobody's confidential friend in politics. When Horry was confined, I was often to see him, but it was more from an attention which I owe him on all those occasions than from any Curiosity. I found myself secure from the beginning: Horry told me that the things which were said to His M. by the D. of B[edford] and Mr. G[renville] were incredible; I suppose they came to him from the D. of C. thro' several other channels, chiefly the D. of R[ichmond], and Harry C.¹ I remember his saying that the K. was offended in one of these conversations, that he declared that the difficulty w^{ch} he had to retain his passion threw him into a profuse sweat, and that, he thought, preserved him from an illness w^{ch} by that means he might otherwise have had. How true or not this might be in fact, the expression was a strong one. What the particulars were w^{ch} he thought so offensive, if Horry named them, I cannot recollect them at this instant. However, as soon as I see him, I shall renew this topic, à votre considération. I have my doubts if you will see Sandwich at Kingsgate; he will hardly, I think, go fourscore miles to be laughed at. G. G. enumerated all these Reports in his last conference, and made his Reply to each; as I have been informed by Williams, who probably had it through Ld Th^d,² from G. himself. I cannot help thinking the old D. of Marlborough was in the right, when he told the D^{ss} in one of his Letters, that in all cases like theirs, and theirs are something similar to these, he never found éclaircissemens of any use whatever.

Horry also told W. and me in one of these conversations, that you had wrote an extra pretty Letter to Ld. A.,³ desiring his good offices with the D. of C.: that you wished nothing more than to end your life in the friendship and good opinion of his R.H. I suppose this the D. of R. had told him, and it may be that Ld A. had told the D. of R. this, and mentioned it to no one else; however I did not understand this to be a secret, nor was more said of it. Why you have heard this and no more, I cannot tell. I was with Ld A. a week ago, to endeavour by his means to serve Williams; he received me and my request in the most obliging manner in the world, and made me a present of some Church plate very prettily wrought and Gilt, which he had brought for me on purpose from the Havannah. He did not mention your

¹ Conway?

² Lord Thomond.

³ Lord Albemarle, the commander of the troops at the capture of Havanna in 1762.

name. The D. of B., I saw at Brighthelmstone, and sate with his Grace while he dined, which was just as he landed from France. He asked if some thing was not to be done for Stee, *to please your old friend Lord H^d*, or words to that purpose. This is all I have heard lately.

I'm glad Lady Holl^d will be soon in town, and that I shall have an opportunity of seeing her. I hope I shall never be quoted for any thing, not even for Ld Fortescue's death, which Report I thought came to me sufficiently authenticated, because universally spread. I cannot make myself considerable, for which I am not sorry, but if I made myself suspected or Hated, I should be so extremely. It is true that I am preparing to go to my new farm, which is not *yet* mine, but which I hope *will* be mine a few days after my arrival there. It is the *angulus ille qui nunc denormat agellum*, and has been so many, many years. I believe my father and Grandfather would have paid the double of what I am to pay for it, if they could have had it, and it is to be sold to me as my *hommes d'affaires* assure me at the market price, which will be about 2,800£. I have some Hundreds by me to lay down, and S^r W. Maynard proposes to Lend the rest at 4 per C^t to compleat the purchase. It was an opportunity not to be lost; my own little place could never have any thing done to make it better, for want of this being in my Hands. The appearance of buying Land is flattering to myself, and creditable in the eyes of my Constituents; but, I believe it will not ever be my Lott to be rich. However I flatter myself I grow every day less poor.

I cannot take my leave of you without thanking you for your kind wishes, of which I have ever had many repeated and undoubted instances. As to this or any ministry's doing more for me yⁿ has been done, I do not expect it, while I see the appearance of Stability. I am indifferent ab^t promotion, and whenever I shall have paid off the Incumbrances which I have upon my fortune, of which I have at present a very good and not distant prospect, I shall be, as D'Eon says, *le Serviteur très humble des évènements*.

Adieu, my dear Lord, most aff^{ly}.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington street.

Sept. 7, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD.

I am much disappointed of a pleasure I proposed, and of which perhaps Lord Digby has given you notice, as I mentioned to him my intention of calling on you at Kingsgate on Monday. But there are letters come from Lady Hertford last night, which say She leaves Paris on the 14th, which will make it but just possible for me, with all the diligence I can use now, so weak and broken, to see her before she comes away, which you know I have not done these two years and cannot otherwise before she returns from Ireland.

I need not say that both She and Lord Hertford will be very ready to serve Mr. Cooper, and a word from Lady Holland to Lady Hertford at any time will find her a warm Sollicitor.

If I find I recover I shall go no further than Paris; but in truth at present I am a poor Soul, and not yet able to wear my common shoes. If I can execute any command for you at Paris, you will make me very happy. I shall be impatient for our pretty Duchess¹ to follow me; tho considering their bad taste about Lady Sarah,² they are not worthy of Her.

As you love idle French books as well as I, if there is any thing amusing comes out, I shall take the liberty of sending it to you. For their dissertations on Agriculture, Commerce, Geometry, and such wise things, which I do not understand and shall not read, I will not pretend to be your Factor. I am so sick of the House of Commons, that I do not think that I shall ever peruse the remonstrances of *their* parliaments.

I heartily wish you your health, my dear Lord, and hope you will never have that great restorative the Gout; I do not know any thing it cures that is as bad as itself.

Yrs ever,

H. WALPOLE.

¹ The Duchess of Richmond.

² Lady Sarah Bunbury. The French did not admire her style of beauty.

MR. J. CAMPBELL TO LORD HOLLAND.

Stackpole Court. Nov^r 3, 1765.

DEAR LD HOLLAND.

After such encouragement as was given me in your kind letter of Oct. 22 you could not expect I should be long silent. I must begin with what is most interesting to me, your health. You do not speak of it quite in the manner most pleasing to me. I must in regard to that say in the Stile of St Paul (nott the Lyttel St Paul), I wish that you were not almost but altogether such as I am, save only——. For I eat well, digest well, sleep well, when nothing of a private concern vexes me (which some times happens); have as good spirits as ever, and, if the said complaint did not hinder, could walk to the Sea with pleasure. If my Memory and small share of Understanding decays, I shall be the last to find it out.

I give many thanks for the Slip from the *Daily Advertiser*. I make no doubt it will be laid to you.¹ I do believe it was some friend of yours, who carefully concealed it from you, lest you should prevent his publishing it. The account is given in so plain, distinct, coherent, and dispassionate a manner, and looks so like truth, that all impartial men, and one may hope there are some few such, will believe it. If any Noblemen think that depressing the just power of the Crown will raise that of the Peers, I believe they will be greatly disappointed. If the C. sinks, the Peerage will sink with it. I have no fear of Aristocracy. I rather apprehend a Confusion of Democracy, Oligarchy, Ochlocracy, and Anarchy to end naturally, and by swift progress, in Despotism. Not in our Time, but I fear our Children may see it. The last time it happen'd, there was a sudden Restoration of regular Government. Can that be expected again? I shall now change the title of *Protector* for that of *Mountebank*; it being more reasonable to call a man what he is, than what he would be. I hear the said Mountebank's Brother-in-law talks as if he repented standing out.

If those two are stow'd into the Administration, I shall think things are at the worst, and then, by the old Proverb, I may hope they will mend. As to the Great Person² who [you] wish to be friends with, I will not say a word more, because I fear I could say nothing agreeable to you upon the

¹ An article on the present situation, with which Lord Holland expressed himself in entire agreement, in a letter to Mr. Campbell, dated October 22.

² Cumberland.

subject. If what a newspaper said of y^r dining in company with the P^{ss} A^{ia} at Ld Holderness's be true, you may probably have your wish. I believe there are few wishes of yours, to which I would not cheerfully say, Amen.

I confess he must be a bad Man himself, who could make a general application of what Tacitus says, and believe that no man can be in the highest degree obliged, and yet continue honest and gratefull. God forbid. All I mean is, that I think men so very bad as Calcraft, &c., must have had Plague Spots upon them, which a man of much less discernment would have seen, if his eyes were not dazzle'd by the worth of an affectionate and friendly heart, too hasty in believing, too ready to trust strong Profession. Yet I confess it is better to be so deceived, than never to believe, love, or trust.

The Print entertained me, though not quite to my mind; for I must confess I have never yet been convinced by any thing but *authority*, the *strongest* indeed of all arguments that General Warrants, in the case of treasonable and seditious Libells, are either illegal or inexpedient. I indeed now plainly see that all writers are satisfied that they may say whatever they please of any Person, or of any Thing, with impunity.

I heartily wish Ld B. had sought good Advice where he might have been sure to find it. How much Mischief, what Confusion, might have been prevented.

Y^r very affectionate,

J. CAMPBELL.

MR. J. CAMPBELL TO LORD HOLLAND.

Stackpole Court. Jan. 28, 1766.

DEAR LD HOLLAND.

I am grieved to hear of your ill health, and that it has been lately worse. I regret my being so long at so great distance from you, and the uncertainty of being able to come nearer. Your health is most valuable to your family and friends; and, if it had been as good as I wish it, would, I believe, have been of the greatest service to the Public. But we do not deserve an able, honest, disinterested Minister, whose counsels would neither be rash or timid. You will know that by disinterested I do not mean that affectation which may make a man refuse the just dues or fair profits of an office for the sake of the dear country, which, at the same time, he would sacrifice to his ambition, or even to his vanity. I am glad Pitt has been too extravagant even

for those who were grovelling in the dirt at his feet; glad I am of anything that may keep him from Power.

I was many years ago delighted with an expression in Swift's *Baucis and Philemon*, "Two Hermits, Saints by Trade." The two sorts of men I think most mischievous, and for whom I have the greatest aversion, are, *Saints by Trade* and *Patriots by Trade*. You may, with good reason, add *Friends by Trade*.

My private trouble is on account of my poor daughter Fortescue,¹ to whom, if you knew her, I am sure you would wish well, on her own account as well as mine; for I think I may, without a parent's partiality, say she is a woman of an innocent and amiable disposition. She is now with us here; deserves all the kindness I can shew her, and wants all the comfort that [we] can give her.

The professions of your friendship to me, give me the greatest pleasure, as I have long been satisfied that no man can be more incapable of falsehood; and I promise myself you never doubt my sincerity when I send you my best wishes, with assurance that you are loved, esteem'd, and honor'd by

Y^{rs} allways,

J. CAMPBELL.

DR. CAMPBELL TO LORD HOLLAND.

CHARACTER of Lady Holland, which is much to be fear'd do's not do her Justice.

TO LORD HOLLAND.

Since you express yourself to be so very well pleas'd, I must be allow'd not only to think, but to say so.

Domestick happiness, my Lord, is that which was design'd for man in a state of Nature, and is therefore of all other the Purest. The Felicity of a Father in seeing his Son happy is the first of human Felicities. Your own idea of your Amiable Daughter-in-law² is happily confirmed by that of Lady Holland, who, with all the Delicacy and Decorum of her sex, has a stronger Penetration and much better sense than falls to the share of the best part of ours. Amongst the numerous Advantages the young Lady will possess by

¹ Miss Anne Campbell married Matthew, second Baron Fortescue, in 1752.

² Hon. Stephen Fox, Lord Holland's eldest son, married, on April 20, 1766, Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, first Earl of Upper Ossory.

coming into your Lordship's family, I am convinced that it will be the greatest that she has the Example of Lady Holland continually before her, which will operate more than all the advice in the World, as it comes very near the wish of Plato, which was to see Virtue in a human Form recommending herself, not by the Austerity of Precepts but by the Graces of her Behaviour and the Sweetness of her Manners. May the satisfaction you at present enjoy be a Prelude to still greater Pleasures! May you see in the Offspring of this Marriage new Charles's and new Harrys, and may your Lordship's speedy departure from this life to a better, crown every wish of the New Bride and Bridegroom, their many friends, and all your Lordship's Relations and Acquaintance, which is the ardent Prayer of your Lordship's, &c., &c., &c.

MR. J. CAMPBELL TO LORD HOLLAND.

Stackpole Court, April 29. 1766.

DEAR LD HOLLAND.

You are very happy in y^r Son's having made a choice so agreeable to you. I rejoice in your happiness, as all must who know, and think of you as I do. May you long enjoy it, and the young couple much longer.

I think Ld Shelburne has done justice both to himself and Mr. Calcraft, who is most undoubtedly Tali dignus amico. If I am not mistaken, the one owes his most valuable Title to the same Person to whom the other owes his Riches. So they may well admire each other's Honor, Honesty, Truth, and Gratitude. Far be it from every honest Man to break in upon their sacred friendship; but if His Sublime Protectoral Highness should, in imitation of an ancient benevolent Potentate, desire to make it a triple League, I wish he may be admitted. As to Mr. R.,¹ I confess honest men are not apt to be suspicious; and being sometimes deceived and ill treated by supposed friends is not so grievous as that constant suspicion which haunts those, who, conscious of their own baseness, judge of all mankind by themselves. Since that brave gentleman openly shew'd himself, I have often recollected an incident the last session you were in the House of Commons. One day that I thought you had been ill treated by some of the, at that time, Sub-Ministers in that House, meeting Mr. R. in the Lobby, I express'd my resentment to him, who, I made no doubt had, as your friend, the same feeling; he made

¹ Rigby.

me no answer, but slipt from me. It struck me at first, but knowing the confidence you had in him, I persuaded myself that he was in a hurry and his thoughts engaged before I spoke; or at worst, that his neglect was rather of the Man who spoke to him, than of you. However I now think I ought to have told you of it, and confess that when I mention'd him to you last, I blamed you, when I was myself in fault; for I now planely see it was his guilty Conscience made him silent and slip away.

If I had, on Tuesday morn. 22^d inst., seen a Motion then intended to be made, I should have said that it was impertinent, nugatory, and ridiculous.¹ The resolution, pass'd that night or rather next morn., does great honor to the Wisdom of the present Administration. I do not wish a change, because I think frequent changes encrease the weakness and confusion of this Government and Country: and in truth I know not who to wish in their Places. The appearance is very bad, but I resolve to make myself easy like the man who when he was told the ship he was in was near sinking, said, "What is that to me? I am but a Passenger." I have wish'd myself in the House every time they have been overhauling what was done in former Sessions, but I think that work is now pretty well finish'd. They have only to reverse Wilkes' outlawry, bring him again into the House, and address, i.e., command the — to give him some lucrative employment; for honor, to be sure, he does not want. I really think he has as much or more than P—— T——e, R——y, C——ft, Sh——rne and some others. I don't doubt Mr. Secretary would be very proud to be one of his Introducers.

I think it is best to laugh at what wee cannot ease or help. I am allways truely and affectionately y^{rs},

J. CAMPBELL.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

July 17th. noon [1766].

MY DEAR LORD.

I have not writ to you, because I did not know what to say. I could still plead the same cause of silence, for I am gaping here with the rest of the world, in total ignorance of what is to come forth.² Mr. Pitt is at Mr.

¹ A resolution referring to the payment of the Militia.

² Owing to the dislike of the King and the hostility of Pitt, the Rockingham Ministry fell to pieces little by little, and was finally dismissed early in July. They were replaced by a Government, nominally formed by Grafton, in which Pitt was to play the leading part.

Dineley's¹ at Hampstead, and has a fever. Lord Temple arrived on Monday, has seen the King, and been at least three times at Hampstead. Still there is nothing but rumours and guesses. If anything is known at Court to-day, I shall hear after the drawing-room, and will tell you before the post goes out.

Mr. Pitt's intimates say he will not hear of Mr. Grenville. A friend of Lord Temple has said that *He* would not accept,—is not this excellent intelligence? Nobody comes to town from any side. Rigby passed thro London yesterday, on his way from Woburn to Chelmsford. Not a coach or chair goes to Lord Temple's. In short, if these two Monarchs reassume the Throne, it may not be so unexpected, but at least it will be as silent a revolution as that in *The Rehearsal*.

Lord Bute's friends assert that the measure was entirely by advice of my Lord Chancellor.² I can at least affirm that some of them were entirely out of the secret.

My Lady Montrath is dead, and has made as drunken a will as you could expect. She has left a mortgage of forty thousand pounds on the Devonshire estate to Ld John Cavendish, whom she never saw but twice. Twickenham park to Ld Frederic, whom I do not know that she ever saw at all, but not till after the deaths of the Duchesses of Newcastle and Montrose; an estate of a thousand pounds a year to her son; another of six hundred a y^r to Ld Milton's youngest son; and three score thousand pds in small legacies. I do not hear of a Yorke in the number.

Rousseau has sent Mr. Hume a folio of seventeen pages, containing his griefs. The principal are, that when every body had satisfied their curiosity, they troubled their heads no more about him, and that Mr. Hume has been in a plot with me and D'Alembert to dishonour him; that D'Alembert wrote the letter for the King of Prussia, and that I fathered it, and that Mr. Hume did not contradict it. I never saw D'Alembert but once, and then did not speak to him, and Mr. Hume never heard of the letter till he saw it here in England. You may judge of the rest by this sample. I have almost a mind to send him one of Tom Hervey's letters, to show him why England is indifferent to new Madmen, possessing so much superior of her own, not forgetting our incessant Revolutions.

Pray tell me how your health is. George Selwyn is throwing away all his bon mots on the present occasion at Newmarket. My Lady Townshend says

¹ Charles Dingley.

² Lord Northington, whose resignation expedited the crisis.

she has been robbed of five hundred and fifty pounds in banknotes by her servants. They have been before Fielding,¹ but I do not know how it is, nothing is discovered, and it makes no noise.

I keep the rest of my paper till after dinner.

Thursday evening.

I can tell you no more, but that Ld Temple agitated Mr. Pitt so much yesterday that to day he has a high fever, and the Physicians have ordered him to be kept quiet. The Duke of Grafton is come to town, but could not see him. You may depend on this, for you know I never tell you more positively than I am sure is exactly true. Adieu!

Yrs ever,
H. WALPOLE.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

July 19 [1766].

I suppose, my dr Lord, you will have had 20 letters by this post to tell you that Ld Temple has refus'd the Treasury, and is gone. His creatures say Mr. Pitt used him like a dog. I sh^d not think that either was very gentle to the other before they parted. Ld Temple insisted on bringing his Bro^r Geo. too, wch Pitt refused. Then poor Ld Littleton; No. When all was rejected the Earl recollected Almon and Humphrey Cotes; not for Lords of the Treasury, but as responsible to them. He asked what Mr. Pitt intended to do for Mr. Mackenzie and Ld Northumberland? Considerably. This was the sum of the Conference and Quarrel, w^{ch} in [illegible] Billingsgate, you know, might be rolled out into a spirited dialogue of some hours. The next day his Lds^p saw the King; was, I believe as well as I guess, very impertinent, was ans^d properly, call'd at Ld Gower's, who was not in town, left his Commands for the People of England wth Mr. MacCartney, and set out. I am so well satisfied that I am setting out too.

Mr. Pitt has still much fever. The D. of Grafton goes to him to day, but he himself will not, they say, be able to see the King before Wednesday. I do not guess who will have the Treasury, nor care, since I know who will not. Adieu! my dear Lord; I hope this charming weather will be of great service to you.

Yours ever,
H. W.

¹ Sir John Fielding, the police magistrate.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

July 22^d, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD.

I am much pleased with the good account of your health, and much satisfied that my Newspaper entertains you. It will contain little to-night, for the curtain is not drawn up yet. In general, we believe that the Duke of Grafton is to be at the head of the Treasury, and Charles Townshend his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Certain it is that the latter was sent for, and has been at *our Palace of Hampstead*. To-day there is a report that Lord Camden is summoned too, and that the Chancellor's face is almost as long as Charles Yorke's; but I have not so much as seen the Truth of this.

Lord Temple demanded the place of President of the Council for Lord Lyttelton, and was flatly refused: menaced opposition, and was told by Mr. Pitt that such a strong Administration would be formed that he would not be able to oppose it. I question if that will deter him. Goodnight.

Y^{rs} ever,

H. WALPOLE.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

White's. Thursday night.

[July 24, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD.

Wednesday next I hear is the day of kissing hands. At present it is determined that Ch^s T. remains in the place he was in; Ld Shelbourne and Conway the two Secretaries, and the Chanc^r President. I do not hear that Egmont resigns. Winchelsea is confined at home, and thought to be in a bad way. Shelley has refused every place of business w^{ch} has not been offered him, and he seems very desoeuvré and very misinformed and out of spirits. The B^p of Oxford is generally thought to be intended for Salisbury, but I do not hear the person nam'd for the new Bishop.

Ld Bolingbroke carried his son to Wandsworth school yesterday, and very pathetically recommended him to Harry's¹ protection. I believe he went

¹ Henry Edward Fox, Lord Holland's youngest son.

so far as a bribe. The little "Bully"¹ was very glad to go, but his father left him les larmes aux yeux.

My Lady has fixed the robbery almost to a certainty upon Dorcas' niece, who succeeded her aunt in the office of Femme de Chambre. She is to be stripped tomorrow before Fielding and me at eleven, and then committed to the Gatehouse for further examination. But unless she confesses, I do not see how the notes are to be recovered. She is now proved to be the second wife now living of Braber the butler, who robbed her Ladyship last year and fled to Ireland.

Horry told me yesterday that he should write to you by this post. I hope he has, for if there is any thing done, or any new remark to be made upon our whimsical situation, you will best hear it from him.

My respects to Lady Holland, and many kind compliments to the spendthrift.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

July 29, 1766.

I have not writ to you, my dear Lord, for these two or three posts, because I really could not tell you what would or would not happen. There has been some confusion this last week, and much absurdity, at which you will not wonder, as you will guess the authors. I feared it would have spread farther; but tho' there will be a few resignations, I now think very few. The D. of R. has been hurt at his Successor;² but has behaved sensibly and nobly, and very differently from two or three of his Friends. As it is my great Object not to have him dissatisfied, I have laboured to the utmost, and flatter myself I have a prospect of succeeding. If the Breach went farther than it will do, it would not long remain open, for there are offers of filling it from *all* quarters. I trust *They* will not be wanted.

Lord Temple has endeavoured to persuade that he broke with Mr. Pitt, because Lord Gower was not to be Secretary of State. You may judge from what you know, and from what I have hinted, whether this is believed.

Charles Townshend has contrived, as usual, to make himself more talked

¹ His father's nickname.

² The Duke of Richmond had replaced Grafton as Secretary of State a few months before the fall of the Rockingham Ministry. Shelburne and General Conway were the new Secretaries.

of than any body in this scene, by his doing and undoing, saying and unsaying. He is at last Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Duke of Grafton and Ld Shelburn, and I believe Ld Northington and Ld Camden, kiss hands tomorrow. Lord John resigns, and I believe Lord Dartmouth. Yorke, I am told, will not stay, but am not certain of it.

I am sorry to tell you that there is a new Edition of the *Bath Guide* with most execrable additions. I shall adhere to the old copy.

I am going to Strawberry for two days, heartily tired of all the folly I have been witness to for these three weeks.

Yrs ever,
H. W.

SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY TO LORD HOLLAND.

St Petersburg. June $\frac{18}{30}$, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD.

You will probably before this have received my two letters, one by Captain Holman and the other by Captain Bourne. I deferred till this occasion of the Courier to write to your Lordship at large, to lay before you the Extent of my wishes and to ask the Assistance of your Advice and friendship.

I will not conceal from you, my dearest Lord, that a Seat in Parliament has long been the great object of my Ambition. I am, however, by no means dissatisfy'd at my Situation; on the Contrary I like the Profession extremely, which to me is as agreeable here as a Minister of my rank could desire it. But at this Court it is impossible ever to go higher. For the Empress¹ is determined, and has already declared (when the House of Austria would have sent a Ambassador), that for the future she neither would send nor receive any. Now, my dear Lord, had I a Seat in Parliament, might I not with more reason pretend to something better in this Course of Life. I flatter myself with hopes of being able to settle everything, I mean the great objects of my Mission,² before the latter end of this year; and I presume when those are finished that I shall not be refused the permission of returning to England for a few months. I shall then have it in my power to solicit, if not the next presentation, at least an ulterior one of the Embassy to Spain, an Employment which few people seem to care for, which I should like, and for which on several accounts I think myself not absolutely unqualify'd. Could I succeed in an affair of this kind, the Appointments of the first half year would pay my debts to your Lordship,

¹ The Empress Catharine.

² A commercial treaty.

and my Experience of the Nature of Embassies would secure me against a Number of expences, which, if once entered upon, it is impossible to retrench, but which I now think it would be unnecessary to begin with. The Great Article in our way is the Outset, which I promise you, if ever his Majesty honours me with an Employ of this nature elsewhere, I shall most carefully guard against. At all events I shall never give up what I have till I get something better; therefore I should only ask leave to return to England, where I hope to be able to dispose of myself in the grand and most important concern in life, in such a Manner as to render myself & my fortunes entirely happy for the rest of my days.

Having premised all this, may I venture to ask your Lordship whether, without constraining or crossing your other Intentions or Inclinations, you could secure for me a Seat in the next Parliament for the sum of £2,000. If you think it can be purchased at this rate, I will take care to have remitted to you the half of the Money at Xmas, and the remainder at the time of Election. On an occasion of this Nature, I have many friends here, who I am persuaded would have an uncommon pleasure to oblige me. Perhaps I might say without Vanity, that there is not an English Merchant in Russia, who would not warmly interest himself in everything that could contribute to my Advantage. Thus, my dear Lord, have I ventured to open my heart to you in full persuasion of your Affection and friendship for me, and flatter myself with hopes of having the pleasure of hearing from you relative to this affair, as soon as it suits your Conveniency. Charles tells me that my dear Ste has been electioneering at Malmsbury. I hope he has succeeded for himself there; if so, and that he could prevail on the Burgesses to elect me his Colleague for the Sum above mentioned, it would be a double pleasure to me to be returned with him. I have also a thought, in case I should be sent to Spain or be otherwise employ'd abroad, I could resign my seat for that place to Charles, if of age to take it.

All this, my dear Lord, I submit to your Judgment, entreating you to believe that I shall always be determined by your advice and directions, and that my Gratitude and obligations to you are so great that no refusal on your part can ever in the minutest degree diminish my sense of them, which I want words to express. Can I ever repete the Sentiments of respect, Esteem, and regard, with which I am, and always shall be, My dearest Lord,

Ever, Ever yours,

GEO. MACARTNEY.

MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON¹ TO LORD HOLLAND.

Naples. July 15th, 1766.

MY LORD.

As I have been told by Mr. Tamineau and Mr. Hart of your Lordship's intentions of passing the next winter, with your Family, at Naples, I can not deny myself the pleasure of assuring you by the first opportunity, that I shall think myself most happy if I can be of any service, either in preparing for your Lordship's arrival, or in contributing to make your time pass agreeably when you are arrived.

Your Lordship's chief Object in coming to Naples is, I presume, to enjoy quiet and a good Climate. I can promise you that in these two articles your expectations will be fully answer'd. Nothing can be finer than the situation of this Capital, nor milder than the winters are here; altho' poor Lord Hillsborough (owing to the melancholy situation he found himself in here last winter)² wou'd by no means allow of the goodness of the Climate; as I dare say he has reported to your Lordship. As to Society, where there is no Education, you must not expect; in every other respect, I will venture to say Naples will more than answer your Lordship's Expectations. I am assisting Mr. Hart in looking out for a House, but at the worst Stephano's shall be secured, which is by no means a bad one and in the Situation you desire, capable also of containing the large Family your Lordship proposes to bring with you. I can not be particular about the Stores necessary to be brought here, unless it is that I have found great advantage in a stock of fine Sugar and good Teas, which are not to be had here; also Hams and Tongues are in much greater perfection in England than in this country. I will venture to recommend to your Lordship to make a provision of Fans, Steel watch-chains, or any other toys in Steel, and of what we call Court or Lady's black plaister, by way of little presents, as the Neapolitans will be perpetually distressing you with a *regalo*, which your Lordship will be glad to return in what they esteem greatly. Mrs. Hamilton begs leave to offer her compliments and humble services to Lady Holland, if her Ladyship should think fit to employ her. I beg leave also to repeat, that I shall rejoice in every opportunity your Lord-

¹ Afterwards Sir William Hamilton, K.B., an equerry to the King, and appointed Minister at Naples in 1764. His second wife was the famous Emma Harte.

² Lady Hillsborough died during the preceding winter.

ship shall please to give me of shewing with what regard I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient and

most humble Servant,

W^m HAMILTON.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

Aug. 2^d, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD.

The moment after I had seen your Son yesterday, I went to the Duke of Richmond. He was gone to dine out of town; I called again in the evening, but he was not returned. However, as I found the Duchess alone, I spoke to her, as I could more freely even than to the Duke. I found by her that it would be impossible to persuade him to ask any favour now; and indeed I suspected so before, for Mr. Conway and I have thought of and been trying every thing that we thought could please him, and nothing has gone down at all. This morning I received your second letter, which forbids my pushing it any farther. I thank you for having been convinced how happy I should have been to have contributed to it, and to have pleased Lady Holland. What Time and absence from Ld Rockingham and Ld John¹ may do, I don't know; but at present the ill humour promises bad effects. The Duke of Bedford, thro Ld Tavistock, has directly offered himself to the Duke of Grafton, desiring nothing for himself, and only places for Ld Gower, Rigby, and Dick Vernon. I have told this to the D. of Richmond, and showed him that the farther they carry their resentment, the more it will push Pitt to the Bedfords, and even facilitate his taking them; the consequence of which would be, that the D. of Richmond would have nothing left to resort to but the two *amiable* Grenville Brothers.

Lord John seems to me to have a little of the madness that has been so much in their blood. Without the smallest provocation, and living upon the best terms with the Duke of Grafton, and even before the Duke was in the Treasury, Ld John wrote to him that he concluded his Grace did not wish to

¹ Lord John Cavendish.

see a Cavendish at the Board of Treasury. But Ld John is not the only person that has done mischief; Ld Albemarle is not idle. Dowdswell, after promising to accept any place not inferior to what he has had, has refused the first Lord of Trade.

Mr. Conway went early this morning to Park place, and I go out of town tomorrow; but the moment I see him, I will ask him about Sr George Maccartney, who has indeed been very cruelly treated.¹ Stanley, but two nights ago, told Lady Hertford, that of all things in the world he disliked going to Russia, but had obtained the King's promise that whether he had finished his business or not, he should be in England that day two years. He is to have six thousand pounds a yr, and three thousand p^{ds} for his equipage. I hear even that drunken porter Ld Northington is to have 4000£ a yr pension, besides his appointments. Lord North is to have half the Paymaster's place; I don't know who the other half.

Ld Temple may pretend what he pleases about my Ld Gower, but you may depend upon it that he never proposed him till he was convinced he was either not to come himself, or at least with no nominations. I have reason to believe that the K. thinks Ld Temple never meant to come in; and I believe too that the Bedfords are not the Dupes of his professions.

The Common Council are outrageous at the Earldom.² They had given the key of the monument to Beardmore to illuminate it. On hearing of the peerage, he sent back the key.

I do not hear of one of the Duke of Newcastle's people that will resign, for which I am not sorry. The D. of Portland, I believe, is gone out of town, and unless something new happens will not quit. Ld Besborough, *they say*, had a mind, but was persuaded *not*. Adm. Keppel says he will not say whether he will resign or not, but thinks Mr. Pitt has neglected him. Lord Albemarle is going to York races. Charles Yorke, finding how little meanness has availed him, recurs to dignity; and talks of throwing up his profession, as he will not plead under Lord Camden.

This, I think, is the present state of affairs. The D. of Richmond continues very kind to me, and you, who know how much I love him, may be sure I will do everything that depends on me to keep him from falling into the worst connections; but if his own good sense does not, I doubt

¹ Pitt had replaced Macartney in Russia by Hans Stanley, who was sent out as Ambassador. Macartney was a personal favourite with the Czarina.

² Pitt was Privy Seal, and had been called to the Upper House as Earl of Chatham.

Walpole to Holland

nothing else will. This last busy month has deranged me so much, that I do not know when I shall be at Liberty; but I will certainly endeavour to see you before you set out. Pray assure my Lady Holland with what pleasure I undertook her commands, and how sorry I am, in this instance, to be so insignificant.

There seems no doubt of the strength of the new Administration, but I shall never like it while the Duke of Richmond makes no part of it. Lady Holland's account of your health gives me great satisfaction.

I am,

most sincerely y^{rs},

HOR. WALPOLE.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Tuesday night. 5 August [1766].

MY DEAR LORD.

I have been for several days in Kent at Mr. Townshend's, from whence I came yesterday and found your note. You may depend upon it that if I had heard any thing that had not been contradicted the next hour, or could have had the least air of intelligence, I should have sent it to you. Ld Barrington has just told me that somebody will kiss hands tomorrow for the other moiety of the Pay office, and somebody else for the Board of Trade. The first is a secret even to night, but it is supposed that Pitt settled it this morning with the K. Shelley has been often mentioned for it; God knows with what foundation. Ld Hillsborough will more probably fill the other employment. Craufurd's father dined yesterday with Ld B.,¹ who expressed much dissatisfaction at the ungracious manner in which he and his brother had been treated as to the manner of his brother's employment, which is not to be accompanied with power; and it was besides done with^t Ld B.'s being previously acquainted with this! I doubt the truth of this discontent. Pitt won't disoblige him, by whose favors he is to obtain further advantages. Your friend the late Chancellor has made a good bargain.² Pitt is more and more abused, but he has a wonderfull talent at recovering popularity or

¹ Lord Bute. Mr. Mackenzie was now restored to his old post, the Privy Seal of Scotland.

² Lord Northington became President of the Council, with a pension of £5,000, besides a contingency and a reversion.

despising it when that will best serve his turn. Harry Grenville has to-day sent a resignation of his employment, which it's thought will be given to Jeffries.

I suppose the time of your going is certain. Mine will be, I take for granted, some time in this month. I am now meditating a journey to Winterslow,¹ to be there at the play on Friday. There is a very pretty picture done for Lady Mary.

I wish you had told me of yourself. I shall hope all continues well till I hear the contrary; and that I shall find you well at Kingsgate in my way to France.

Have you heard that Lady Windsor is at Law with Ld Shelbourne for God knows what. Half his estate, I think, and the arrears for twenty years. The affair of Lady Downing must be all heard over again.

Jack Yorke has not yet resigned; he takes sufficient time to deliberate. The town is now beginning to thin again.

Yours most aff^{ly}.

Cabinets meet, but Charles never sent to; how will he draw with the D. of Grafton?

I see no permanency yet, till there are more changes, and something I won't name less changeable.

EARL OF BUTE TO LORD HOLLAND.

London. Sept. 1st, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD.

I rejoice extremely at the last sentence of your letter, for I interest myself too much in every thing relating to you, not to feel happy in the words *much better*. If your Journey succeeds to my wishes, Ld Holland will make his family and friends happy for many years. A thousand thanks, my dear Lord, for your kind offer; if I troubl'd you before about the E. Ind. Director, it was holey owing to a strong conviction of the incapacity of the present people. I am totaly ignorant of what may be intended, so am unable to say more at present on this subject.

You mention things, my dear Lord, that can't surprise you more than

¹ A property in Wiltshire, which Lord Holland had purchased and given to Stephen Fox after his marriage.

they do me; and yet you will read that Ld Bute is the author of all that has been done. Were it so, my friendship for you would make me open myself without disguise; but believe a man with whom truth is sacred, and who thinks even a mean subterfuge to a friend criminal in a high degree. When I first heard of these changes, and of the present Minister being come to town, I did not believe it, and pass'd no doubt with Dr. Campbell, Wedderburn, and others who brought me the information, as a most refin'd politician. If this surprises you, hear farther. The great Lady I often pay my duty to, was as ignorant and as incredulous as my self. Ld Town——d soon after told me he heard my brother was sent for and restor'd; that I also thought false, not believing that I should be treated with so much contempt as to be left in ignorance of a transaction so near to me. Five days before my Brother's arrival, he inform'd me it was true; with great surprise he heard nothing from me. Since his return, he finds the Ministers most industriously wiping from themselves the odious measure, and laying it on the K—, who confirm'd to my Brother that it was his own act; which left him no choice but thankful submission. Thus then matters stand, and proscription seems to be as much in fashion now as formerly against *me* and mine, notwithstanding this great instance of generosity to H.M. in the case of my Brother. 'Tis now above a year since I have seen the K—, or have heard any thing of him, but from uncertain authority. I am therefore unable to guess even at the consequences of your letter;¹ but I need not repeat here, you have my warmest wishes, and that I shall never cease to be, my dear Lord,

Most sincerely and affect^{ly}

yours, BUTE.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Monday. Sept^r 15 [1766].

MY DEAR LORD.

I have just had the favor of a Visit from Mr. Upton, who has given me the pleasure of a better account of you than I have in my most sanguine hours expected. I purpose to kiss the King's hand on Wenesday, and on Thursday to sett out for Kingsgate, but as the days are grown so short, it may be the next morning before I shall be able to pay my respects to you. I

¹ Lord Holland wrote direct to the King on August 30, asking for an earldom.

will then bring you the freshest Intelligence of all you do, and all you do not; but you have so much and so constantly from others who are better informed, y^t it discourages me from thinking of sending anything.

Poor Horry has been indeed exceeding ill from Gout unfixed and Bile, but I hope not in present danger.

My best respects to Lady Holland, and many kind compliments to Charles and Harry; and pray tell Charles y^t I am sorry for it, but I think he must not flatter himself with seeing his friend Ld Carlisle, till they meet at Naples; but I have no authority to say so but conjecture. However they have both time enough before them, and their friendship will, I hope, receive no interruption till they are both ministers, and then, as I told Charles when I saw him last, they will quarrell ab^t making some Dirty Parson a Dean.

The Bedfords are thought to have made their Bargain. The persons to lose their places are, Ashburnham, Huntingdon, and Portland, to make way for Ld Gower, Ld Weymouth, &c. Ld Hertf^d will return two members for Oxford; he has been solliciting that affair these 15 years, I hear, but it was not to interfere with any other pretensions of his Lordship's. Lady Hertf^d is going to sett out upon a tour ab^t Flanders, with her servants only, and to meet her Lord at Paris in a month.

Lady Towns^d, you have heard, has found her notes, but the recovery of them is more misterious than the loss was; and there has been a scene between her and the maid who was supposed to have stole them, that could not have happened but in her Ladyship's family. This Mrs. Molly, as she is call'd, surprised her the other day with a visit, y^t she obtained almost by force. She was dressed in a new black sattin Sack, and the reason she gave for that particular Drapery, was, that she had a mind to represent to her Ladyship the color of her Heart. She told her that she had found out evidently the reason of that constant apprehensions she had of death, but y^t the Devil would be an over match both for Grimes and Hawkins,—with a great deal of stuff of that kind.

My dear Lord, adieu, till I have the honor and pleasure of seeing you.

I hear no one word of the Grenvilles.

Ld and L^y Pembroke's mind are quite easy. He is certain, he thinks, of the dog's not being mad, but no precautions whatever have been neglected, or should be, for the Herbert blood won't stand much biting; a dash of the folys, as poor Winnington said, would have been of more use.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

Nov^r 14th, 1766.

MY DEAR LORD.

I hear with great pleasure from all hands, that you continue in the good state in which you wrote to me from Rheims.¹ Lord Ilchester was so kind as to show me two notes from Marseilles, and yesterday I had a letter from my Sister, who speaks with great confidence of your being free from all appearance of asthma or dropsy. I have no doubt of your finding still more benefit from the sea, and surely Naples is not likely to bring back your complaints. I hope you will return as perfectly well as I am come from Bath. I have not felt such health or spirits these three years. Indeed I believe the joy of leaving Bath produced half my cure, for I could not bear the place.

I waited, before I wrote to you, for the meeting of Parliament, that I might have something worth telling you. I hasten away my letter now, lest I should have nothing more to tell you, for the Session promises to be exceedingly unactive. The two Grenvilles proposed on the first day to issue two hundred thousand pounds from the Treasury to support the poor, or hire a mob for themselves. Lord Temple, with his stalking-horse Lord Lyttelton, had gone the day before to the Mayor's feast to no purpose. Lord Ilchester will tell you the particulars of their debate. In our House (not that I was there), it was much more languid. Not one of the Duke of Bedford's people attended, and he himself in tother House spoke with much moderation. The History is this. At Bath, Lord Northampton and Nugent took great pains to negotiate between his Grace and Lord Chatham. They had two or three very amicable interviews. The Demands were few, but very considerable. However, if places could be found, I believe it would be a match. George Grenville, to prevent this union and *ingratiate* himself more with the Duke, went to him the instant he came to town, and kept him above four hours; the consequence of which was that the Duke forbid all his people the next morning to oppose. This will not content you,—why then, I believe the credit of the Ministry at that House is very near at an End. The D^{ss} is strong for Lord Chatham, and a person who wants to come in but who does not care to leave Grenville for

¹ Lord Holland went abroad on September 23, in such a precarious state of health that Lady Holland had serious misgivings as to whether he would return alive.

nothing is gone out of town and out of humour. If no bargain ensues, I suppose they will hold together a little longer. So much for that part of Opposition. The Duke of Newcastle lives at Court, and is as much at his ease there as ever. His friends declare against hostilities,—and so the Duke of Richmond is going out of town. This is the single point on which I am concerned. Lord Temple goes in two days, till after Christmas. The poor Speaker will be the Martyr of all this, who must sit tête-à-tête with George Grenville and hear him debate till midnight, for the Latter will persist, like Dr. Swift, to read prayers to his dearly beloved Roger.

I am very glad I can tell you something that will give Lady Holland pleasure, and which as yet is a great secret. A patent of Duke is drawing for Ld Kildare: Lord Bristol¹ obtained it, intending to guide by that interest.

I don't know a tittle of news more: of public, there is no probability till after Christmas. The newspapers themselves have done with politics. Lord Temple just crawls about Almon's window, in the shape of an autumnal fly that a child could crush: and in the City I think there are East Indian pamphlets, but I don't read what I don't understand. When Charles Townshend is re-chosen, I shall go [to] the House again. Adieu! my dear Lord; I hope your whole caravan will assemble safely at Naples.

Y^{rs} ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

Feb. 10, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD.

Your letter to me and all your letters give me great satisfaction, as they assure me your Health is so much better. It is a good deal to have got rid of the imputation of two or three horrid Disorders; and I trust you will find yourself deceived too in the advance of age. Not that I think you will own that so frankly; but I will forgive your telling your friends (in hopes of being indulged in your Indolence) that you are grown very old, provided you do not find the real Inconveniencies of it.

We are here in a most profound calm. Tho Lord Chatham has been confined at Bath ever since Christmas, Every thing goes on in perfect quiet;

¹ George William, second Earl of Bristol, the Viceroy of Ireland.

nay, miraculously quietly, for even George Grenville has given over talking, and scarce goes to the House,—indeed he had talked every body out of it first, and the last time he divided had but sixteen with him. The Bedfords are not of his number, and somewhat at variance amongst themselves. Ld John is reduced to his favourite Empire of about half a Dozen. The East India Company are all acquiescence and submission, and have at last given in their terms, which I hear are very satisfactory. Ld Chatham comes in two days, when I suppose that affair will be settled.

George Selwyn is come back from Paris, and Lady Sarah is expected. L'Amende la plus honorable has been made to her Beauty: they opened their eyes and saw nothing like Her. She has been exceedingly the fashion, and I dare to say is not spoiled by it.

We have just had a sad number of Deaths among the young people. Lady Fortrose died yesterday, but that has long been expected. Lady Suffolk, Lord Trevor's daughter, two days ago in her lying-in. Mr. Howard, the last remaining Hope of the Norfolks, is dead of a putrid fever. He had the measles, and they were thought over; but he was seized violently at eight at night, and died in twelve hours. The title goes to Charles Howard of Grey-stock, who is mad, is ill with the Duke and Duchess, and has only one Cub of a Son.

Lord Essex is going to be married to Harriot Bladen; she has twenty thousand pounds at present, and ten more on her Father's death. Ld Bristol has proposed himself to, and been refused by Lady Charlotte Tufton and Lady Stawel; but dont speak of this to my Lady Hervey, as she never has to me. She has had a very good winter upon the whole, and is now pretty well.

I think I have exhausted all my news; and in truth there never were less. Pray be so good as to make my compliments to all your company, and to Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton when you see them. How does my Twickenham neighbour, poor Lady Pococke?

The Duke and Duchess of Richmond came to town two days ago, very happy with the success of the Sussex Election. Adieu! my dear Lord,

Y^{rs} ever,

H. W.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Saturday night. 23 May, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD.

I received last night the honor of your letter from Geneva,¹ dated the 9th Inst., with infinite pleasure. I am, and have been some days, in an hourly expectation of hearing that you were landed, and hope now it will not be many days more before I shall have an opportunity of assuring you once more how sincerely I am y^{rs}. I do not know whose leave you think it is requisite for me to ask that I may adopt the sentiments w^{ch} I have in regard to your Lordship, but can only say should find my own for any person extremely diminished that opposed them. The Opinion, to w^{ch} I know you think, and very truly, that I pay the greatest deference, is entirely of that side of the question. I am ready to grant that your punctuality in answering my last letter, or indeed, as you say, in answering at all, is another mark of the friendship and affection which you have always shown me and I hope will continue me, as long as we are together in this *engagement*, as M^{me}. de Sevigné calls this life, when I have so much need of it, and have experienced so little but in yourself.

You may be very well assured that Ld Carlisle is not offended at what you have wrote; there is so much delicacy of sentiment mixed wth his passion, that he is not ashamed of it himself, or will anybody else be for him.² I only meant to say that I am sorry for the application in one respect, w^{ch} was that by that means he would never gett to Troy, where for his sake I am so disinterested as to wish him; but as I have often said and thought, he has the seeds of that which is so right in him, that he will not do ill but by comparison any where. I am sorry that poor Charles has been deprived so long of the company of a friend he has so just an esteem for, and who is so much better entitled to the pleasure of his society than we are at the Old Club. I will certainly take the first opportunity of acquainting L^d Towns^d with your kind mention of her.

¹ See Jesse's *Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, ii, 158. Lord Holland returned to Kingsgate three days later.

² "You would have frightened me by disliking the application of my ode,—for I should be sorry to offend Lord Carlisle, if sweet Lady Sarah had not sent me her entire approbation of it. And now, my lord dare not be angry; I have desired her to tell him *it is as much as his place is worth*" (*ibid.*). The ode in question, an imitation of the ode of Horace, *Lydia, dic per omnes*, is printed in the same work (ii, 154).

Lord Mansfield told me the other day y^t you was sent for, w^{ch} on many accounts I was not sorry to hear, and was not a little pleased to think that I had prophesied so rightly in relation to Dr. Holland, whose advice, if they will take it, will keep them, I believe, at least from many ridicules which they are every day subjecting themselves to.¹ I shall give you also my pulse to feel, if you prescribe gratis, and then perhaps may submit to sett to you for my picture. That w^{ch} M^e. du Deffand has drawn for me does not by any means please me. As much as I love Ld March, and with as much reason, I should be sorry to have it thought I loved nobody else. Very few indeed in the same degree, because very few ever furnish me with the same motives. There are indeed some traits où je me reconnois, others too flattering for me to suppose I have.

If you have not seen the portrait, Crawford will be very glad to shew it you when you come here, for he is very fond of it. After all I had rather see yours, for although with^t settling down any thing in malice, I am sure you will make a caricature of some of my features.

S^r Ch^s, Lady Sarah, and Cici² will be in town on Tuesday or Wednesday. I hope we shall be all permitted to sett round your great Chair at Holland H. to hear an account of your travels, and that I shall, in particular, be allowed no say, and believ'd when I do say it, that I am most truly and aff^{ly} your Lordship's,

G. S.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Arlington Street.

Aug. 7th, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD.

Tho you have not heard from me so soon as you might expect, I hope you will not disapprove my conduct. I waited till I had made every thing easy to the D. of Grafton; and then I chose to write your request to him, rather than mention it to him by word of mouth, that I might be able to show you his answer, which I will do when I see you.³ I woud send it, if

¹ "I will only add, that there is not a word of truth in what Lord Mansfield told you the other day" (Holland to G. Selwyn. May 26, 1767).

² Lady Cecilia Lennox, Lady Holland's youngest sister. Always delicate, she died on her way to the South of France in 1769.

³ Lord Holland was making further efforts to obtain the coveted earldom.

it did not contain some expressions to myself above what I can deserve; but these are the very words of the rest of the answer:—"On the point of your letter, I am vain enough to say that I had previously felt it's consequences, without the Inconveniencies which some foresee, and have not lost sight of the hopes of bringing it to bear."

You see, my dear Lord, that I was in the right to tell you that you could not want such inconsiderable Interest as mine, where your own must necessarily be much greater. I have therefore no merit beyond having stated to the Duke, as strongly as I could, the attention due to you; and I am happy to find that the Result is likely to be what you wish. The Duke is not apt to be warm in professions, and I rely much more on what he has said than I should on a positive promise for some men.

Except the Change in Ireland, I think there will be no other at present.¹ Even old Tilbury is to remain, which does not appear to me quite so wise a measure.

Lady Dalkeith is to have a Barony;² and the green Ribband is to be kept for Lord Carlisle till he is of age. George Selwyn has been rummaging the Herald's Office for precedents of it's being given to men under Age, but he has not persuaded the King.

The Duke of Newcastle has sent an Express to Woburn, to inform the Duke of Bedford that the Parliament is to be dissolved in October,—but luckily his Grace is in no Secrets.

Shall you be in town, I mean at Holland House, before Monday sennight, when I shall set out for Paris? My best compliments to the *Countess*.

Y^{rs} ever,

H. W.

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Aug. 15, 1767.

I am but this instant arrived, and not to keep your Servant, will write but three words. I took the D. of Gr. aside after dinner, and told him how much you was obliged to him for what he had said in the letter to me. He

¹ Lord Townshend became Viceroy in place of Lord Bristol.

² Charles Townshend's wife, Lady Dalkeith, took the title of Baroness Greenwich. He died a month later, on September 4.

said, "I am sure I shall be able to do it at the End of the Session, and I know that will content him." I replied, "I beg your Grace's pardon, he told me but last night how earnestly he wished to have it done before he goes into the country on Monday, that he may not be obliged in his state of health to go and come two hundred miles to kiss hands." "Yes," said the Duke, "he said so to me, but I am sure he will be satisfied with a certain promise of it's being done at the end of the Session. There is nothing so difficult to be obtained from the King as Elevation; and I know from the best authority that when Ld Bute could do most with the king, he could not get the Dukedom for Ld Cardigan."

I am sorry, my dear Lord, I could procure no more immediate promise; but from the Duke's heartiness for you, I am convinced it stops solely at the King, and yet I trust you will satisfy yrself with this Assurance.

I am, &c.,

H. WALPOLE.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Chesterfield Street. Tuesday. 25 [August 1767].

MY DEAR LORD.

I had a visit today from Mr. Fanning with your Lordship's commands and apology. As absolute as the first are with me, I must say the other has no foundation. I have not been so punctual as to entitle myself to your acknowledgments for every scrawl w^{ch} I take the liberty to send you.

I should be glad to send you any news, but there is, I believe, none just at this moment. The D. de Choiseul, I hear, has a mind to pick a quarrell with us, and has sent to stop the works at Dunkirk. Carlisle waits only to go with March and me to France, and we talk of setting out the Beginning of next week. I hope he will not stay for my friend's determination much longer, as, much as I like his society and character, I cannot be so little his friend, as not to wish so necessary a part of his Education was pursued. He is, I find, to be invested with his Order at Turin by the K. of Sardinia.¹ March has kissed hands for his employment,² and the Duke of G. has told him that my affair is settled with the K., March understands, to my mind. Then I suppose I am to have the Treasurer's staff, but not immediately. If that is so, and you are an Earl, w^{ch} I have no doubt, all

¹ As Knight of the Thistle.

² Vice-Admiral of Scotland.

my wishes will be accomplished in the ministerial way. Carlisle and I propose to call and take your commands at Kingsgate. I will write to you every thing I hear, while I stay in town. Charles Townshend has been very ill of a Feaver, but in no Danger certainly.

I am, y^r Lordships most truly and aff^{ly},

G. S.

My best respects to Lady Holland.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Saturday night [August 29, 1767].

MY DEAR LORD.

I am extremely obliged for the satisfaction which you express in relation to my affairs being settled, so far as they are so, with the D. of G.¹ I have heard no more than through Ld March, to whom his Grace said that he had settled my affair, Lord March understood to my satisfaction; and he knows what my Object is. So to what extent, or in what time y^t will be accomplished, I shall know more hereafter. We have determined to go from hence on Friday next, and I showed Ld. March your kind Invitation, for w^{ch} he returns your Lordship many thanks. If he should be prevented from waiting upon you, I hope Carlisle and I shall not. But to day I find fresh intelligence arrived concerning the dissolution of the Parl^t; how immediate, I have not yet learned. Hawkins was my Informer, who frequently picks up very well founded Intelligence. Carlisle heard the same, but was told y^t it was not to take place till towards the winter. I shall not choose to sett out without some éclaircissement upon this subject.

The D. of G. is gone to Wakefield from whence he will not return till Wenesday. He is gone very much out of spirits, from an accident that happened as he was coming to town the other evening in his chaise or phaeton, I can't tell which; but a drunken fellow, an oldish man, would not gett out of the way, and was thrown from his horse, and has received a wound from one of the Duke's Horses that has putt his life in great danger, and given the Duke more uneasiness than anything so merely accidental should give him.

¹ Selwyn was busying himself at this time in trying to obtain recognition for Lord March and Lord Carlisle, and also a favour for himself. See Jesse's *Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, ii, 183.

Sr E. Walpole is relapsing and is thought to be drawing very near his end. The affair of Lord and Lady B.¹ is likely to become very serious, and a great amusement or concern to the town when it fills, according as people's curiosity or sensibility is the most predominant. The *Chronique* says she is brought to bed. Servants are become evidences, and the husband hopes by this imprudent management of her and her simple lover, to be freed a vinculo matrimonii, and in future times to marry a rich monster and retrieve his affairs. I hope you will not quote me. He made me his Confident upon the first discovery, and I kept his secret,² but I found he and his servants together had, in my Absence from town of one day only, told it to a hundred people. Indeed it is of such a nature as diu celare non potest.

Carlisle is much embarrassed w^t to do ab^t Morpeth. He should not certainly leave this Country, till he has endeavored to putt it upon some foot, by w^{ch} he may secure an interest in it, at least in future times. I have persuaded him to consult the D. of G. ab^t it, and he may be assisted by him in the arrangement. It will at least be a Compliment to consult him upon it. So he intends to go to him on Wenesday for that purpose.

Sr J. Lowther, I am told, has asked for the Mannor of the town of Carlisle, but as that used allways to be in Ld Carlisle's family and his grandfather had a lease of it, w^{ch} his father by neglect only did not get renewed, so I hope it will not be given to Ld Carlisle's prejudice. I wish all these things had been to have been settled sous vos auspices. The D. of G. is, however, very friendly upon all occasions in w^{ch} I have any wishes or interest, so I flatter myself he will remain where he is, to assist and be assisted by those who wish him well.

Pray make many compliments and excuses for me to Charles. I don't know why, but when one postpones writing any time, it goes on, and you gett deeper in debt every day. I remember Corbinelli, by way of apology to M^e. de Grignan for not writing to her, gives as a reason, "un desir extrême de lui écrire, joint à mille occasions, et une persuasion très forte qu'il le devoit"; and her mother tells her, "vous seriez bien difficile si vous ne vous rendiez à de si bonnes raisons." I have myself no better, God knows; I only hope that he will be persuaded que je ne l'en estime pas moins.

My best comp^{ts} to Lady Holl^d.

¹ Bolingbroke. He was divorced from his wife on March 10, 1768.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Chesterfield Street. Saturday. 5th [September 1767].

MY DEAR LORD. I don't know whether the note which I had the honor to receive from you by my Lady Holland was intended as a Coup de pate for my friend March, or no, but I do assure you he had nothing to do in it. We really intended to have left London yesterday, and have come to Kingsgate; but my saying that, I do not think, amounted to an engagement. If I said what imported that, it was more than I was authorised to say by either of the noble Lords whom I am to have the Honor to attend.

We have now fixed Monday, and if we keep our resolution, hope to have the pleasure of dining at Kingsgate on Tuesday.

Poor Charles T. ended his brillante carrière yesterday in the evening between 5 and 6; at times sensible to the last. His Brother never quitted him; better for him they had been never separated. I believe he will feel the want of him much. Charles recommended his children to him. Lady Town^d, our friend, was 3 times at Sudbroke, but did not see her son. I have had the melancholy task lie upon me of attending her in the most distressfull moments of her Life. She is almost distracted. I do not know even what is conjectured as the consequence which will follow from this event in the political way. North or Barrington, one or the other, is said will be his successor,¹ and my nephew Tommy, by his own flatterers, is talked of to succeed one of them. If I should live to have a nephew Chanc^r of the Exchequer I may sing the *Nunc dimittis*. I kiss'd the King's hand yesterday for leave of absence. He asked me how many months I had been endeavoring to persuade Ld March to take this journey; I assur'd his Majesty that this time he had persuaded me. It is so late in the year, that to speak the truth, that and the approaching Election and other considerations make me wish it had been postponed till the Spring. But after having kept Carlisle here to go with us, it would have been a shame to have lett him go alone. The D. of Grafton is gone to Euston, and will not be returned till Tuesday. He has sent for my nephew, w^{ch} seems to countenance what I have said. I hear no more of Lady B. Bully thinks he has sufficient ground to go upon, so he will proceed with his civilians and deponents. The D. of G. has said nothing to me of my affairs;

¹ He was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Lord North.

I hope only he will not leave me to the mercy of other people. I will have nothing to do with any persons who mean to act independent of the K. ; for lett my circumstances be what they may, I will belong to nobody else.

Lady Greenwich intends at present to reduce every article of expence whatsoever for the sake of the children, so Sudbroke, I suppose, will be sold, and the house in town. James was not call'd in till he was dying, and therefore woud not give his powder. Charles has been in a bad way some time, and had heated himself extraordinarily in the social company of Mr. Taafe, as they say, for three days before he was taken ill. I own, for my part, he has exceeded the term of life w^{ch} I thought his constitution had prescribed. I hear no other news. The Duke of G., I am assured by an authority I will not insert here, is better with the K. than any body ; so I hope, having an Inclination to oblige, what you desire will not fail in his Hands.

Will the death of Ch^s be any detriment or no to the System I wish well to ; or must we be ruled as well as bored by his antagonist?

Adieu, my dear Lord, I hope to see you the beginning of this next week. But pray lay no blame on March.

My Respects to Lady Holl^d. She has no talent but for w^t is obliging, and you force her to write des duretés.

SIR G. MACARTNEY TO LORD HOLLAND.

Berkeley Row. Tuesday. Jan^y 12, 1768.

MY DEAREST LORD.

Tho' I do not write to you as often as I wish to do, I am persuaded you are too indulgent to me not to make allowances for my present situation. My attendance in South Audley Street is constant and daily ; our conversation there is little interesting except to ourselves, and what news I do hear is by snatches, either in accidental Visits from others or in my morning calls upon my acquaintance. All I do know I shall now tell you. I wrote to you in a former letter an account of the Changes in the Administration. Lord Gower kissed hands before Christmas, and the others will do so in the course of next week. Mr. Conway gives us a great dinner on the Queen's Birthday. He takes leave of the Foreign Ministers on Thursday, and Lord Weymouth kisses hands on Friday.¹ Mr. Wood and Mr. Fraser are to be his under-Secretaries. Mr. George Grenville has been at Bedford House, and behaved with great

¹ Lord Weymouth was superseding Conway as Secretary of State,

openness and *amicality* in appearance. He said that he should be better pleased with an arrangement in which he could have been included; yet such as it was, he liked it better than that things had remained as they were, adding that Lord Weymouth's being Secretary in the place of Mr. Conway, was enough to render any alteration agreeable to him. You see what he drives at; but whether he will succeed or not does not yet seem to be determined. I am assured from very good authority that Mr. Rigby's favor at Bedford House is solely by his hold on the Duke; that the Dutchess is greatly alienated from him, and *indeed Lord Weymouth is much the younger as well as the prettier man*. I give you this in the words of a Lady who lives not far from Berkeley Square, a great friend of Lady Holland's. Whether all this be real truth, or only female conjecture, I can't say. Combine it with other information, and then judge.

Lord Chatham is still in statu quo at Hayes; i.e., he sees nobody, does no business, and has no communication with the King's Servants. I do believe notwithstanding, and I believe it upon good grounds, that he has mens sana in corpore sano as much as ever he had, but perhaps that is not saying much. I cannot help thinking that he will emerge again, and add one more surprize to the many he has so often given us.

My dear Lord, you need not be anxious about your Earldom, you will certainly have it before you return. You need not give yourself any further trouble about what all your friends wish most ardently, and will lose no opportunity to accomplish. 'Tis said that Lord Ossory, Lord Gage, Mr. Meynell, and Mr. Brand are to be created peers at the close of the Session. The Duke of Portland, when apply'd to by Lord Percy for his interest in Westminster, declined answering his letter for three weeks, at the end of which term he wrote to him that the reason of his delay was, because he did not know whether any other candidate had offer'd or was likely to offer; but as he found there did not, his Lordship was welcome to his support. His Grace will burn his fingers most terribly in Cumberland; and at Carlisle his interest becomes less considerable and his expences more heavy every day. Sir James has no doubt of success in both. *Mr. Lowther* has been confined in a Madhouse these two months past. The Duke of Newcastle, who is now much better, and the Duke of Bedford, gave their interest in the handsomest manner to Lord Percy. Mr. Sands stands solely on the Northumberland bottom.

Mr. Shirley, the King's Chargé des Affaires at Turin, being lately dead

will occasion, I fear, some delay in Lord Carlisle's receiving his ribband, which I am told is not yet dispatched. The Dukes of Buccleuch and Athol received their's about a fortnight ago, but Lord Rothes's is not yet given. We could not persuade the Duke of Roxburgh to ask it. The Marquis of Lothian *has* asked for it, and I suppose will have it. The Bishop of Osnaburg¹ was invested with the Bath a few days since, and will be speedily created Duke of York. Lord Bute is in much better health and spirits than I have yet seen him. He talks of going to Spa next summer, and I hope will put it in execution. If you remark the Collocation of Sentences in this letter, it will explain every thing that may appear obscure to you. It gives me infinite pleasure that I am to stay abroad but two years, and I flatter myself that you, my dear Lord, will take some share in this circumstance, as the seeing and living with you I shall always esteem among the happiest of my life. I shall write to you again in a post or two, before which time I shall probably be compleatly happy.

I am,

My dear Lord,

with every sentiment of the most sincere gratitude and affection,

Ever, ever yours,

G. M.

P.S. Remember me in the kindest manner to Lady Holland and to Charles. Which of the two titles, Belmaine or Dalzeide do you like best for me?

HON. H. WALPOLE TO LORD HOLLAND.

Strawberry Hill.

Aug. 30th, 1768.

After having looked so often to no purpose for the inclosed paper, I found it last night by accident when I was not looking for it. I send it to you, my dear Lord, just as I found it, endorsed by yourself, and only half a sheet; the other half, if I recollect rightly, you had torn off yourself. I am exceedingly glad to have found it; tho I give you my word I had twice in the summer looked, as I thought, at every single paper in the writing box where I lighted upon it last night, as I was emptying the box against my carrying

¹ Prince Frederick, George III's second son, born in 1763.

it with me to-day, when I am going into Warwickshire and Yorkshire. I shall be here or in town in a fortnight, if you have any commands for me. The best thing you can tell me, is, that you are quite well.

I passed a whole day last week with my Lady Hervey at Mr. Bateman's, and think I have not seen her look better for some years. Her Son Augustus, for fear the Town should want entertainment next Winter, intends to serve up some very old Stories for their amusement.

I am, my dear Lord,

Y^r faithfull

humble Ser^t,

HOR. WALPOLE.

MR. G. SELWYN TO LORD HOLLAND.

Chesterfield Street. 15 July [1769].

MY DEAR LORD.

I am much obliged to you for your letter from Kingsgate. Y^r Letter to my Ld Mayor gott very soon into the papers, as I imagined it would; I find it in general well thought of as to the matter and form of it.¹ But people differ as to the necessity of writing. Ld Albemarle, who to do him justice, allways speaks of you (to me at least) with Kindness and Respect, said it was to convince people of what they might know from any office clerk. But how few will ask the Question, and how many chose to be in an error? No, I am clear that all persons, who think coolly upon this Subject, will be of opinion that you did right in refuting so obnoxious a Calumny, in which the King himself was in some measure implicated. I am in hopes that I shall escape with the name of Post or Pidgeon, as they call my Ld Mayor, and if I should be honoured with so much notice as to have the last appellation, I shall call upon my friend Willis for my defence. I hope you will trouble yourself no more upon this Subject; a word to the just, as well as to the wise, is on this occasion sufficient.

There is an account come from the West or East Indies, that a younger son of the late Admiral Boscawen's was drown'd there, a very promising young

¹ Lord Holland was described in a petition emanating from the County of Middlesex, as "the defaulter for unaccounted millions." Smarting under this attack, he wrote to the Lord Mayor, who replied that he was not responsible. Lord Holland subsequently published a justification in the newspapers.

person, as I am told. A Report has also been spread of Ld Deloraine having kill'd his Coachman, but there is no foundation for it. I hear Ld Chatham looked surprisingly well, and the foreign ministers not in the Interests of this Country were visibly chagrined at it. Mrs. T. Townshend has dined with him lately, and tells me his spirits at present as well as his health surprisingly good. Our friend, my Lady Townshend, is, I believe, relapsing, or declining in her own imagination, for when I call'd upon her on Wednesday she was at her devotions. She did not see me, but I was at the parlour door during part of the Service. It is certain that she is at present a defaulter of some things unaccounted for. I intend setting out for Castle Howard abt Tuesday or Wednesday. Ld Digby is in town to-day for Ld Montacute's Christening. They have hastened it, as he tells me, for as yet L^y Montacute does not know of her sister's death. You have heard of that of the young D. of Hamilton. I hope to see Charles tomorrow in his way to Kingsgate. He tells me that he shall be in town tomorrow, he believes. I am sorry that I missed the seeing Stee. Ld Digby talks of making you a visit in about a fortnight. I shall be much obliged for some account of your Health and Spirits from time to time, but I do not desire a word in your own hand writing. I know you do very wrong to fatigue yourself in any degree, or upon any account. If I pick up anything that I can possibly suppose will be an amusement either to your Lordship or to any of your Family at Kingsgate, you may depend upon it, as upon my being ever, my dear Lord, most affect^{ly} yours.

DOCTOR CAMPBELL TO LORD HOLLAND.

Queen Square. 9th September, 1769.

MY DEAR LORD!

We grow absolutely every day more and more incorrigible. Our News Papers formerly, tho' in the service of Faction, carefully endeavoured to preserve a Semblance of Truth, and very seldom admitted a direct Falsehood, because it would have destroyed all future Credit. They then began to scatter Lies, but sparingly, like Currants in a Parish Pudding. But now, my Lord, all Restraints are gone, and a modern News Paper is one broad Lie without a Streak of Truth. Indeed this is a very scarce Commodity, and it is no great Wonder the Printers do not deal in it; for scarce as it is, there is hardly any Demand for it, every man being better pleased with the Lye on his own side.

The Squabbles at the East India House continue to perplex the Business

of the Company in a very singular manner, by which I mean they divide and subdivide men of all Parties; so that you frequently hear Persons, otherwise warm in Opposition, declaring, that it ought by no means to be admitted into the affairs of the Company. Now, my good Lord, what is this but saying that they like Opposition where it possibly may do themselves good, but dislike it where it must do them Hurt. It seems that, with Respect to the Company, they have a much clearer Perception than with Respect to the Community. Opposition perplexes everywhere, and contributes to the general Good very rarely, and only when conducted without Prejudice or Passion. But my Lord, will things in India stand still while the Leaden Heads dispute? When nine Proprietors shall have called ninety nine General Courts, and having tired one another out, come to some Resolution in the hundredth or hundred and first, we shall then have an account that matters have taken such a Turn, that the Resolution will never set them right; or which I rather incline to believe will be the Case, that they are gone right of themselves, and so the Resolution is of no use.

I have seen a Person of some Figure who was at Stow, and who, tho' strongly of the Party, I think would not deceive me. He says Chatham is perfectly well, and must have been for some time, since, tho' in general he seems to be very weak in his Legs, yet, when playing at Skittles which is his favourite amusement, he now and then neglects his Crutch Stick for a Quarter of an Hour, and does not seem to have any great need of it then. He is very lively and good humoured, as a man ought to be in pursuit of Power and Popularity, and at the same Time so brisk and boyish that he seems to be rather indifferent whether he catches them or not. My Lord, I do not understand these Things, and I believe very few understand him. I cannot find he has ever explained the Interview in the Closet; *that* seems to be a Mystery of the Sanctum Sanctorum, and not fit to be repeated in or to the Temple.

There is an Epilogue to the Piece of Intelligence I furnished your Lordship with in my last. One Mr. Whiffin, of Fashion Street, Spitalfields, having incurred the Displeasure of the Democratic Rulers in that Quarter, Thursday Sennight determined his Fate. The Sons of Violence began with conducting the humble Ministers of Peace to their own Watch-house, where having placed a Guard upon them, the next precaution they took was to remove People out of the Streets that there might be no witnesses, and then at two in the morning broke into the man's House, demolished his Furniture,

destroyed the Goods in his warehouse, cut his Books of accounts to Pieces, and then retired with great satisfaction, after leaving a substantial Weaver not worth a Groat. This is certainly news, my Lord, for not a word of it is in the Papers. That would give an alarm, and would be by no means pleasing to the Patriots in Middlesex, London, and Westminster, who, on some proper occasion may find it requisite to call for the strenuous assistance of their patriotic Brethren in Spital Fields. I could ask abundance of Questions upon these Histories, but I will trouble your Lordship with only one. How does it fall out that so many malicious Falsehoods are crowded into the Daily Papers, and yet that Facts so very strange and attended with such fatal Consequences as these, should be slipped over in silence, tho' too notorious to be absolutely concealed? Let me add that, in this Quarter of the Town, no Magistrate does or will act, no Constable dares do his Duty; so that here is an end of the Civil Power. Yet, such is the Terror imprinted by the Clamour about St George's Fields, that no Military assistance could be obtained. We are indeed, my Lord, a free People; that is, free from the shackles of Law and Loyalty that restrained our ancestors, and subject only to the Caprices of the Mob.

I know not what to think of your Lordship's going abroad. But I hope if it takes place, you will come for some time to Kensington first, that your Friends may have an Opportunity of paying their Respects. Indeed, my Lord, bad as the World is, you have many Friends, and the usage you have lately met with, discloses them every day. People begin to see thro' the Cobweb Covering of malicious abuse, and have Sense enough to discover that there can be no Crime in some accounts not being made up before the proper Officer, when it was no Way criminal for other People's accounts to lye before him for a much longer space, or that there is any Harm in a man's retaining a Ballance when the Auditor's Fees are to be paid out of it, and those Fees so large as the Total of the accounts will necessarily make them.¹ These were only Bug Bears till thoroughly understood. I am, my Lord, with the most dutiful Respect,

Your faithful and devoted Friend and Servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

¹ The Pay Office accounts during Lord Holland's tenure of the post had been recently called in question. By general consent, these were never made up until long after the retirement of the holder; but the practice was said to lead to serious abuse, and was certainly open to malicious inferences.

MARQUESS TOWNSHEND TO LORD HOLLAND.

Dublin Castle.

Nov^r 3^d, 1770.

MY LORD.

Sir George Macartney this morning communicated to me the Enquiry your Lordship was so good as to make after me; and I ask'd his leave to allow me to acknowledge myself this mark of your politeness, and I am sure of your sensibility of y^e sufferings of a family deprived of y^e most invaluable person in every point of view.¹ I will quit, no less for your own sake and Lady Holland's than my own, a subject, so allied and esteem'd at Holland House, where the affections of private life have never wanted their Cultivation.

Allow me to say, my Lord, that this Tribute to the wretched is y^e more sensibly felt, because it flows from y^e generous Sentiments of an Adversary in public life; or at least from one against whom my Politics or my prejudices (for they are too often y^e same thing, especially in y^e first part of life) have in a former day engaged me.²

Your Lordship, I will confess, has in y^e warmth of Debate disconcerted me by your good nature; you have now bound me by your Humanity, and be assured, my Lord, that my Sentiments which are sufficiently tumultuous, and which your Discernment can easily trace from both Channels of my blood, hath long felt returning Ebb. If I write too much or too figuratively or unintelligibly, it is because I trust and ought to trust in y^e Humanity of Lord Holland.

I have a little Girl at my elbow, who is more like her dear Mother than me, and whom I hope, some day or other, in her Mother's right, to present at Holland House.

If your Lords^p were younger, and if I were more successful in y^e world, this might be call'd a political Letter; but I think it may now pass as no more than the Social Intercourse of those who have enough of y^e World not to be bound by its Interpretations.

¹ Lord Townshend's wife, Charlotte, daughter of James, Earl of Northampton, died in September 1770.

² Lord Townshend and Lord Holland had been bitter foes throughout their political careers.

I am, my Lord, with y^e truest sense of your goodness to me in my affliction, and with truest esteem,

Y^r most obliged
& very humble serv^t,
TOWNSHEND.

My eldest son, who is just returned to England, will embrace this opportunity to thank your Lordship for your concern for his Family.

FINIS

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